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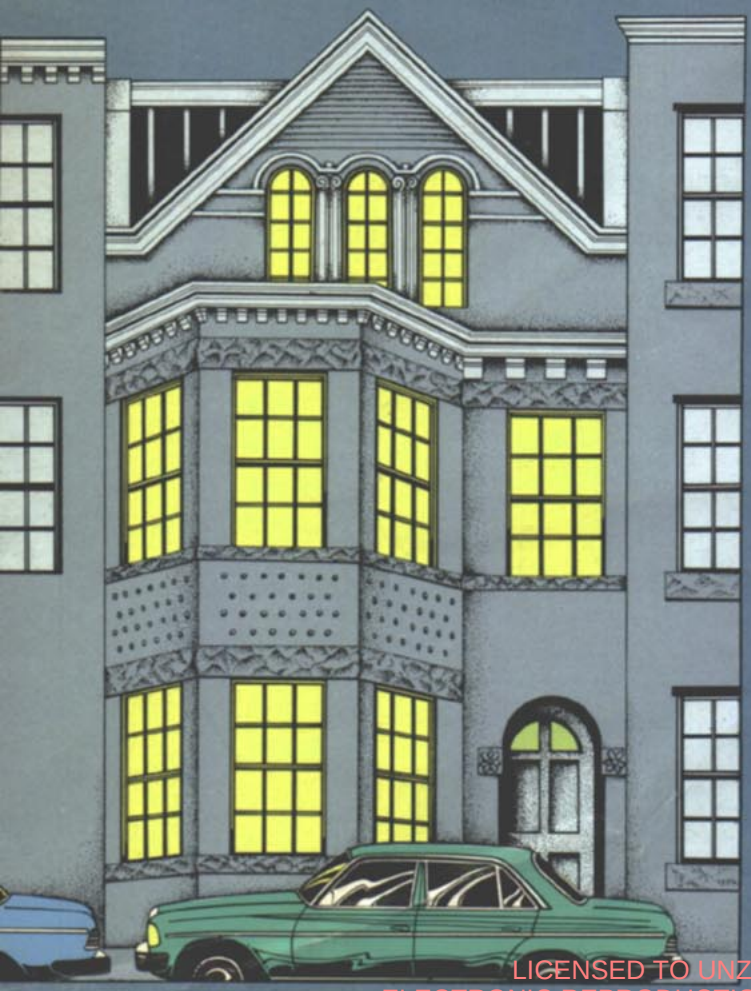
The Washington Monthly

JUNE 1981/$2



You've seen those expensive houses.

Who's buying them?

And what does it mean?

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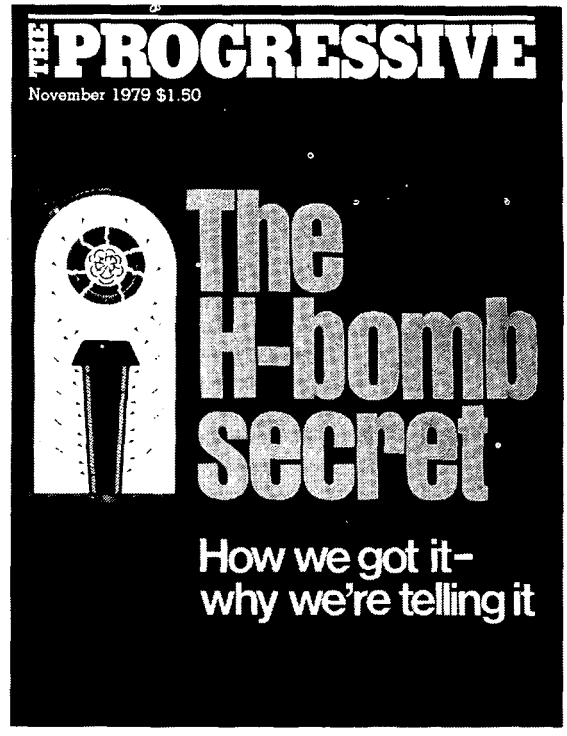
A picture worth $250,000



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Letters

Forward Into the Past

I take exception to your claim that President Reagan "is not the man for the eighties" ["Tilting at Windmills," March]. It has become inescapably clear that Reagan is preeminently suited for the eighties—the eighteen eighties.

LARRY WERSHLAB
Wheeling, West Virginia

Gonzo Redux

Congratulations on Joseph Nocera's excellent article, "How Hunter Thompson Killed New Journalism" [April]. It is about time for a revisionist view of the Gonzo Doctor.

I also agree with Nocera's suggestion that R. Emmett Tyrrell is the Hunter Thompson of the Right. I would only argue with his statement that Tyrrell can "write rings around Thompson." I doubt it will seem that way when we look back on Tyrrell's columns a few years from now.

JONATHAN Z. LARSEN
New York, New York

Whoa! Hold it right there! Probably most people don't give a good Goddamn, but *Washington Monthly's* (lately the most useful, provocative, and insightful pages around) decision to print Nocera's attack on Thompson cannot be suffered silently.

Let's take a look at one of Nocera's complaints: "There was no attempt [in Thompson's writing] to explain, say, *why* Hubert Humphrey was, as Thompson said, 'a treacherous, gutless old ward-heeler.' It was merely assumed to be so."

Thompson had no contract with his delighted fans to tell us why. But at any rate the very same issue of your magazine provided that information. Your article on Dwayne Andreas, king-maker and profiteer extraordinaire ["Meet the Master of Risk-Free Enterprise" by Eric Pianin] points out that Humphrey was in Andreas's back pocket—his man on the Hill, then in the vice-presidency. Thompson did not claim to dig, he only pointed. That was more than enough.

KEN KAPPEL
San Francisco, California

Nocera is more justified than he realizes when he chides Thompson for making too big a deal of the "Men's Room interview" with George McGovern during the 1972 New Hampshire primary campaign. The incident wasn't just hyped out of proportion. It never occurred.

As one of McGovern's press aides, I had the pleasure of traveling with Thompson that day, and accompanied him to the men's room in the basement of the Exeter Inn where the confrontation supposedly took place. Yes, McGovern was there, but he wasn't "hovering in a urinal" as Thompson reported. He was combing his hair, and about to leave. Thompson asked an unexceptional question about Harold Hughes's surprise endorsement of Ed Muskie. McGovern responded with our standard disclaimer that we weren't building our campaign on endorsements.

That was it. McGovern left the room. Thompson and I followed later. Thompson's story—cagey reporter catches candidate in position where he can't avoid being questioned—is so good it *ought* to be true. But the fact is he just made it up.

JOHN FRANZEN
Washington, D.C.

Hard-Boiled Suck-Eggs

Is that the same James Fallows who was President Carter's speechwriter? ["'And If This Is Just Another Job, Then By God, I'm a Sorry Suck-Egg Mule!,'" April]. That James Fallows was an expert on avoiding the military, not on national defense. That James Fallows faked psychiatric problems and starved himself to beat the draft. (His article, though, was actually outstanding, and I speak as a Vietnam veteran.)

NORMAN L. DODGE
Springfield, Virginia

I am a former captain of the Marines. I was a second lieutenant (platoon and company commander) in Vietnam with the Third Battalion, First Marines from December 1966 through February 1968.

I want to assure you your article was right on target. I do not believe there were more than a handful or two of field-grade (and above) officers in Vietnam who had any more idea than a pig about Sunday of what the war was about.

When you describe the deceitful reports filed in Vietnam, the trumped-up casualty figures, you're right again. But you have missed one school where that lesson was learned by the military: the U.S. Congress. Let me explain. Each service branch has its own officer to respond to "congressional inquiries." After my return, I served (among other duties) as adjutant for the Second Battalion, Sixth Marines. That is the battalion which investigates complaints from congressmen (Bobby Kennedy was the AT&T of Congress in that department) and originates the response.

When I wrote responses I wrote the truth; if the constituent's son was a shitbird I said so. Not only could I not convince my CO to sign most of the letters,

(continued on page 4)

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VOLUME THIRTEEN NUMBER FOUR
JUNE 1981

TILTING AT WINDMILLS
by Charles Peters
What was worse than Janetgate . . . what the rich will do with tax-cut money . . . and other odds and ends. **5**

Reagan's Dr. Strangelove
by Jonathan Alter
How the White House Soviet advisor learned to stop worrying and love the Clausewitzian Maxim. **10**

A Selection of Fine Whines
by Nell Minow
Sour grapes are spoiling the federal anti-discrimination system. **18**

How to Bring Our Allies to Their Knees
by William R. Schulz
If they won't pay their fair share for defense, let's tax their exports. **26**

The Worst Care Money Can Buy
by Dr. Robert Braham and Dr. Thomas Lee
Sometimes the poor get better medical care than the rich. **28**

Available Soon: Three-Bedroom Townhouse, $400,000 (Fireplace Extra)
by Barbara Palmer
Someone's buying Washington's expensive housing. Who? And what does it mean? **31**

Pick of the PACs
We thought we knew how bad the growth of business PACs was. But it's worse. **39**

How Teachers Teach Selfishness
by James Bovard
They're starting to act like Teamsters. **44**

ON POLITICAL BOOKS
by Robert M. Kaus **55**

LETTERS 1
MEMO OF THE MONTH 38
MONTHLY JOURNALISM AWARD 16
POLITICAL BOOKNOTES 58
POLITICAL PUZZLE 43
TIDBITS AND OUTRAGES 25
WHERE TO STAY IN WASHINGTON 53
WHO'S WHO 49

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(continued from page 1)

the ones he did sign got him in hot water at Regiment and Division, where the facts were further diluted. All this didn't happen because there were so many disingenuous senior officers. It happened because congressmen wanted to write nice things to their constituents.

DANIEL V. S. McEVILY
Washington, D.C.

That Holiday Feeling

Listen, why do you waste several precious pages each issue with "Where to Stay in Washington"? I would think that given the orientation of your magazine, you'd not want to be responsible for encouraging travel to the District. I mean, some bureaucrat or lobbyist could be sitting comfortably out in the boondocks reading *Washington Monthly* (obviously, to keep up on the enemy) and then run into an item like a hotel described as having "no pizzazz" but plenty of "wet bars . . . and a guest service that can get you everything from a calculator to a translator."

That could sound downright inviting, know what I mean? Suppose this guy is, moreover, turned on by rust and gold decorating schemes. First thing you know he's on his way to Washington, and you're to blame.

BRUCE HENSTELL
Venice, California

The editor replies:

Don't blame us for the migration to Washington. Our hotels column also describes prices, and that ought to be enough to scare anybody but the Archduke Ferdinand away from the capital.

Actually, there is a serious reason we run the column. Only 20 percent of our readers live in Washington. The rest are spread throughout the country. The nature of their work—as reporters, lawyers, public officials, and students and teachers of government—means that most of them must visit Washington from time to time. Some are on expense accounts, so we try to tell them about the wet bars. Others aren't, so we try to tell them about Sholl's Cafeteria (see page 53).

Falwell Farewell

Your article "The Gospel According to St. Jerry" [by Dr. Rheinhold Levine, April] exposed a very sick sense of humor.

To insult Christian readers is not good business. It is, instead, an insult to good business.

EVA JORDAN
Fresno, California

The editors note:

For those readers who may have missed it, "Dr. Rheinhold Levine, professor emeritus of the Bolling Air Force Base Divinity School" is actually Arthur Levine, one of our contributing editors. His intention was to insult phony Christians, not real ones.

Frying Over Bacon

As a carpenter, I was disappointed to read Gregg Easterbrook's smug analysis of carpenter's wages in "How Big Labor Brings Home the Bacon" [February].

I have a job for Easterbrook as a carpenter's aide. It pays $4 an hour. He must provide his own tools. He must dress to meet cold winter freeze-up as well as blistering summer heat. Occasionally he must dangle from great heights. There is a lot of heavy lifting. Cuts and bruises are everyday occurrences. Workers are sometimes seriously injured or killed. There is no pay if there is no work.

There are no lunches in nice places (clothes are too smelly, sawdusty hair offends luncheon guests), no night life (too tired physically), no hanging around with people of power and authority, no byline. One year out of four is spent idle as the government shuts down the building industry trying to whip inflation.

JACK RIEHL
Walla Walla, Washington

The author replies:

But Mr. Riehl, what if a certain select few carpenter's aide jobs paid $15.89 an hour? And what if they were financed by taking money from the vast majority of carpenter's aides making $4?

That's exactly the system we have under the Davis-Bacon Act, which was the subject of the article you question. Davis-Bacon artificially inflates the wages paid to workers on federal construction jobs. Federal tax money (the bulk of which comes from middle- and lower-income families) is used to subsidize those inflated wages. Carpenter's aides on a federally financed housing project in Boston were making $15.89 last fall; journeyman carpenters on the same project were making $19. I doubt any private carpenter in Walla Walla has ever made such wages. Yet every one has paid to support them. The job you describe sounds miserable enough without having to add that some of that $4 an hour will be docked as a "transfer payment" to the worker making $15.89.

The Washington Monthly has always opposed artificially high salaries for anyone—doctors, lawyers, journalists, bureaucrats, corporate officials, or carpenters. High salaries are especially offensive when they are public salaries, paid for by tax money taken from average workers. In general, inflated salaries are a problem of the white-collar professions, and in general working people deserve a better deal than they're getting now. But that doesn't mean we should close our eyes to instances when construction workers, through political arm-twisting and labor-union pressure, maneuver their way into the inflated elite.

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tilting at windmills

The Reagan administration continues its crusade for international social justice. A recent party thrown by the Chilean ambassador and his wife was attended by William French Smith, the attorney general, Max Friedersdorf and Charles Tyson of the White House staff, Ernest Lefever, the assistant secretary of state-designate for human rights, and Lee Annenberg, the chief of protocol. Senator Strom Thurmond was also there and was quoted as saying, "It hurts me that Chile hasn't received the attention it deserves." He promised it would under Reagan. At least Mrs. Annenberg did not curtsey. . . .

As you may have gathered from our March issue [see "Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Bureaucrat" by Jonathan Alter], *The Washington Monthly* is not a cheerleader for Alexander Haig. But I rise to his defense in the matter of his shaky voice on the day of the Reagan assassination attempt. It seems to me that he often has a shaky voice, and, because I had one for years, I am filled with sympathy for the secretary. I finally conquered, or came reasonably close to conquering, the shaky voice. But I had another problem: shaky hands. My parents each had slight tremors. Their genes combined to produce in me a condition that often resembles an advanced case of palsy.

Once, as a young lawyer, I was arguing a legal point in the judge's chambers. It was my biggest case ever. I made my point masterfully. One could feel the humbled, despairing acquiescence of the opposing attorneys—and the admiration of the judge and of the other lawyers on my side for the cool, compelling logic of my argument. Unfortunately, a court attendant had just placed a cup of coffee on the table at my side. As I picked it up, the hush was shattered by the rattle of saucer, cup, and spoon. By the time the cup reached my lips, half the coffee had been spilled on the floor, where it joined the remains of the illusion of calm control that had existed a moment before. . . . I am a devoted reader of letters-to-the-editor, and I am often rewarded for my efforts. Not long ago, for example, there was a letter to *The Washington Post* suggesting this punishment for drunk driving: 52 Saturdays working in the emergency ward of the nearest hospital. Saturday night is of course when the drunk driver does his worst damage. This punishment would keep him off the road during his most dangerous period and show him the bloody results that behavior of his kind can produce. . . .

Never Leave the City Where the Good Bars Are is, as we have often pointed out, one of the guiding principles of American journalism. The top foreign correspondents therefore do not go to Moscow or Peking. They go to London, which is exactly where *The New York Times* is sending one of its most promising reporters, Steve Rattner. Rattner, who is rare among journalists in his understanding of the relationship between politics and economics, will be able to apply those skills to stories about the Royal Wedding and charming villages in the Cotswolds. . . .

On April 8, Ronald Reagan issued Executive Order 12303 establishing the Presidential Advisory Committee on Federalism. On the same day he appointed three members to another commission. It is called the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. What do you think the Advisory Commission on Federalism could do that the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations could not do? The answer, of course, is nothing—except provide additional prestigious appointments for the president to make. So much, then, for Reagan's Crusade Against Big Government. . . .

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There is among American intellectuals a long tradition of writing articles based solely on the ideas in the author's head and facts that he can gather from the library. Sometimes this will suffice, but there are likely to be problems when the articles are about politics and government. Recently, for example, Leon Wieseltier wrote a moving attack in *The New Republic* on the Reagan administration's favoritism toward big business over small business. The proof of this attitude, he said, was that in the new budget "the President proposes to reduce the Carter allocation for the Small Business Administration by $45 million." Of course, as practically everyone in Washington knows, the SBA ranks close to the top of any list of the most inept agencies and is the last place to spend a dollar of the taxpayer's money with any hope that it will do any good for any purpose other than the welfare of SBA employees. . . .

Maybe it was because everyone was so tired of hearing about Janet Cooke and her phony Pulitzer. Anyway, what strikes me as a more serious scandal has occurred in the publishing industry and has gone practically unnoticed except by *The Washington Post.* (Who else?) The scandal concerns *Self-Destruction,* a book about the army written under the pen name Cincinnatus. The book's publisher, W. W. Norton, described Cincinnatus as "a senior field-grade officer . . . currently assigned to the Pentagon." It turns out that the author is Cecil B. Currey, a professor of history at the University of South Florida and a chaplain in the army reserves, who spends just two weeks a year at the Pentagon. We must confess that we were among those taken in by the Norton deception. [See page 55 of our January issue and page 16 in April.] *The New York Times* was also taken in, but it most definitely is not willing to confess.

In early May, *The Washington Post* ran a story telling about the hoax and explaining how the *Times,* among others, not only had been fooled but had itself exaggerated the author's credentials in a story written by Herbert Mitgang in its December 30, 1980 issue. The *Post* article appeared on May 3. Mitgang was back on May 5 with a story that, without mentioning the *Post,* explained the hoax, then went on to quote Eric Swenson, the Norton editor responsible for the hoax, as authority for the statement that "the facts in the *Times'* original story were accurate." Mr. Swenson does seem a curious source of absolution in this matter, so let's take a look at that original *Times* story and compare it with the actual facts as reported by the *Post's* Michael Getler:

1) *Times:* The book was written by an army colonel who wants to remain on active duty and therefore has disguised his authorship.

Fact: The author is a chaplain in the reserves, not an active officer.

2) *Times:* He served in Korea.

Fact: He did not serve in Korea.

3) *Times:* He attended the Army War College.

Fact: He did not attend the Army War College.

4) *Times:* He served as a captain during the Tet offensive.

Fact: He never served in Vietnam.

Whatever the *Post* did wrong in the case of Janet Cooke, it never deliberately misrepresented, as Norton did, nor deliberately covered up, as the *Times* did. If Janet Cooke was asked to resign, what should happen to Swenson and Mitgang?

And what about the publishing house, W. W. Norton? It was going to reap the profits from a book that it had falsely presented to the public. Not only was the dust jacket misleading, but interviews containing falsehoods like Mitgang's of December 30 were allowed to go uncorrected. The worst was NBC's *Today Show* interview on February 2, during which Professor Currey appeared with his face in silhouette and his voice electronically altered. Jessica Savitch introduced him as "a Vietnam veteran . . . right now assigned to the Pentagon." Norton did nothing to correct that impression, and that is truly regrettable. . . .

As we explain on page 39, the amount of some 1980 PAC contributions is enough to shock even the jaded among us. The gun lobby, according to the Federal Election Commission, gave Senator Charles Grassley of Iowa $64,706 last year. Grassley, however, is not fussy about what lobby he gets his money from. Last year, my colleague Jonathan Alter registered as a lobbyist for the Save the Dunes Council, a group with a

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somewhat different ideological base from the NRA. As a result of registering, his name appeared in a *Congressional Quarterly* directory of Washington lobbyists. Sure enough, he got an invitation from Senator Grassley to attend a $250-per-person fund-raiser. . . .

Medical organizations are paying their Washington lobbyists thousands of dollars to find out what the Reagan administration health policy will be. They're wasting their money. For a sneak preview of the policy—or at least what David Stockman would like it to be—read *Health Plan* by Alain Enthoven. Here's what Stockman said about it when it was published early last year: "This book is must reading for anyone seriously interested in federal health policy, for with luck it will prove to be the manifesto of a market counterrevolution in health care policy in the 1980s." . . . If your secretary seemed to sulk during the week of April 19-25, it was probably because you didn't give her flowers and take her to lunch. Why would she have any right to expect a departure from your normal surliness during that week? A publicity release from Henry J. Kaufman & Associates, an advertising and public relations firm, explains:

"WASHINGTON, D.C.—The American Florists Marketing Council (AFMC) launches its annual promotion of National Secretaries Week, April 19-25, with a multi-media campaign created by Henry J. Kaufman & Associates. A network flight of radio and TV spots and print ads in *The Wall Street Journal* spearhead this year's efforts.

"National Secretaries Week was initiated in 1952, but it accounted for little volume for florists until HJK&A began the AFMC flower and plant sales promotion in 1972. AFMC, the marketing arm of the Society of American Florists, has since seen the occasion grow into the biggest business gift-giving time and the fifth largest holiday on the floral calendar." . . . San Francisco, home of the S&M survival workshop, is again offering leadership to the nation. This time the subject is not sex but political protest. According to *The Sunday Chronicle-Examiner,* one Bernie Krause is planning an unusual album to express his dismay over the nation's swerve to the political right. It's called "Someone's in the Kitchen Cooking Whales," and will contain vintage sea chanties and whaling songs, blended with animal sounds and the voices of President Reagan and various cabinet members. . . .

One of the latter, Dr. James Edwards, the distinguished dentist and secretary of energy, was testifying recently before the Interior Appropriations Subcommittee chaired by Representative Sidney Yates, who is fighting to preserve the few good energy conservation regulations. Edwards contended that the regulations weren't needed, that the free market could do the job on conservation. To prove his point, Edwards said, "I just happened to buy a refrigerator the other day, Mr. Chairman, and right on front of it was a big yellow label and it had the cost basis of so much per kilowatt hour, and how much it would cost to operate that particular refrigerator for a year." The sticker was there, Yates replied, only because of one of the regulations Edwards was proposing to eliminate. . . .

The head of a big Washington lobbying firm recently confided one of the secrets of his success. Congressional staffs, which have grown in importance during the seventies, have now become the primary target of Washington lobbyists. This has had its effect on the kind of people who do the lobbying. They used to be distinguished, silver-haired types. But because congressional staff members tend to be in their twenties and thirties, the silver-hairs are hiring associates who are young, attractive, and blond or brunette. . . . Anthony Sampson of *The London Observer* pointed out an extraordinary blind spot among the middle classes and among any group of people who are safely employed:

"They notice that other activities are overmanned and extravagant, but they regard their own organisation as being properly staffed.

"There is the story of how a television interviewer went to see the chairman of British Rail, Sir Peter Parker, and got round to the question of how could he justify the overmanning on the railway. Sir Peter simply looked round the assembled team of producer, director, cameraman, electrician, second cameraman, electrician's mate, personal assistant and driver and said:

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'Are you asking me about overmanning?' The question was quickly dropped from the interview. Everyone has their own declension: '*We* are an indispensable team; *you* are overmanned; *they* are redundant.' "

Sometimes you plant your banner on the field and no one rallies around you. This was, alas, for many years pretty much the case with *The Washington Monthly*'s advocacy of a return to political patronage. However, as the deficiencies of the civil service become ever more obvious, a few brave souls have come forward to join us. The latest convert is Mike Royko, the fine columnist for *The Chicago Sun-Times*. The Chicago city council proposes to abolish civil service in Chicago, and, writes Royko:

"Most do-gooders and reformers are shouting about what a terrible thing the sneaky aldermen have done. At one time I might have been shouting, too. Civil service is one of those knee-jerk issues: civil service is good—political patronage is bad. But I'm no longer convinced it's that simple.

"Yes, I know that the political patronage system can lead to large herds of bums winding up on the city payroll. I've written hundreds of columns and one book on that subject. I've exposed payrollers who were bookies, Mafia head-twisters, grafters, and feeble-minded relatives of politicians. I've known some who never showed up at their jobs, and others who managed to hold two or three payroll jobs at the same time. I've known some who woke up only long enough for coffee breaks, lunch, and when it was time to go home. And when I've written about them, many were promptly fired, and others suddenly discovered that they could do an honest day's work.

"But I've also written about federal bureaucrats who were hopelessly incompetent. Some readers might remember the Vietnam vet whose entire face had been blown off by a bomb. When he asked the VA to pay for some plastic surgery, they told him his injury was "not service-related." Nobody was fired for that one.

"The federal bureaucrats cause a man's home to be torn down. Nobody is fired. They tell a lively social security recipient she can't have any of her benefits because she is dead. Nobody is fired. They put a company out of business by imposing safety rules that apply to an entirely different industry. But nobody is fired.

"That's what civil service has done. It has created a massive, immovable governmental monster that can get away with almost anything. And we are asked to believe that 95 percent of these 2.2 million paper shufflers are efficient, almost 100 percent of them deserve yearly raises, and only 0.4 percent should ever lose their jobs.

"No, thank you. I would prefer to take my chances with an alderman's idiot nephew. At least if somebody spots him trying to fill a pothole with bubble gum, the alderman might be embarrassed enough to find him a job he can handle. But with civil service, the idiot will be locked into his job for life and might even get promoted." . . .

Self-Destruction, the Cincinnatus book, is, by the way, well worth reading. I can understand why Norton was tempted to exaggerate the author's qualifications—there was a real possibility that a military book by a chaplain would be dismissed without a serious hearing. All of us in publishing are faced with this temptation when we have something good by someone with unimpressive credentials.

The challenge is to deal with the problem without abusing the truth, or the trust of your readers. The only proper response to the challenge I can see is for the publisher to have established a reputation for itself that is good enough to endow the writer with authority. . . .

Speaking of a lonely banner in a deserted field, our call to call in the big bills has for years remained unendorsed by anyone in a position of respectability. Now comes Representative Anthony Beilenson with a piece of legislation providing that $100 bills shall not be legal tender after December 31 of this year. The only people who oppose it are the crooks who use $100 bills for their illegal transactions and the people who resist a change of any kind. Beilenson's bill is, of course, doomed. . . . My son's physician, Dr. William Anderson, is retiring after 45 years of practicing pediatrics. He was much loved by mothers because he set aside an hour each morning just to answer their phone calls. "I'd get here before the nursing staff," he told *The Washington Star*'s John McKelway, "so that there was

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never any nurse between us. And I always kept a telephone by my bedside. They never had to go through the Medical Bureau. I guess I'm old-fashioned in that way. And I never charged anyone for giving out information on the phone. I just felt that was my job." How many doctors like that do you know?...

Part of the problem of the auto industry has been, as William Schulz points out on page 26, unfair competition from Japan and Europe. But part of it is the fault of the industry itself. Too little imagination, for one thing. Too high wages, for another.

The wages for American auto workers are, as many of you know, 56 percent higher than for Japanese workers. But did you know that the American auto executive earns *700 percent* more than his Japanese counterpart? In 1980, a year of record losses, Ford gave an $85,000 salary increase to its president. What kind of leadership is that for the workers, for the industry, for the country?

The person who told me about the Ford salary was William Schulz, the same man who wrote the article about unfair European and Japanese competition. He is the Arizona businessman who came within a whisker of defeating Barry Goldwater in Arizona in 1980. In other words, he almost defeated a leading Republican in a Republican year in an increasingly Republican state. The national Democratic party ought to take a look at this man, not only for the political talent he has demonstrated but because he is the rare kind of businessman who can face what is wrong with business, and the rare kind of liberal Democrat who can face what is right about business....

You may remember that a year or so ago I expressed concern about the unpleasant ingredients said to be present in the alcoholic beverages that I consume from time to time (a practice to which the uncharitable attribute my trembling hands). Well, the federal government had finally gotten its act together and was preparing to issue regulations requiring contents labeling. Then the Reagan administration arrived. Now there will be no labeling of contents.

Nothing could better illustrate the rigidity of the Reaganites. Labeling would not "burden" industry. The cost would be minimal. All that is asked of industry is honesty. But it's a regulation and that means it's bad. I think the country may be underestimating the price we will ultimately pay for this kind of rigidity. Reaganites aren't real fools in the intelligence-test sense. But they are real fools in their ability to ignore the other side of the argument.... Do you ever wonder why so many bright people fall into an opposite error? They conclude not that free enterprise is the only answer, but that socialism or communism is. That's because capitalism sometimes fully justifies the worst opinions of it. Take the case of Paul Volcker and the Hunt brothers. Remember a year ago when Volcker was rationalizing his advocacy of a bailout loan for the brothers (which the banks would not have made without the Fed's support) by saying that the Hunts would not profit from the loan and it would merely permit the "orderly disposition" of the Hunts' silver? According to Ralph Soda of Gannett, the Hunts have now paid off their silver debts. But they still have a revolving line of credit for $1.1 billion. And they still have their silver. And Volcker is still smugly puffing his cigar, still chairman of the Fed. The Fed is unaccountable, so he doesn't have to explain this story—and he hasn't.... When Bill Schulz is making a speech on the economy, he has a marvelous way of demonstrating to his audiences why there is a shortage of the right kind of investment. He asks them whether, if they had $10,000 to invest, they would buy real estate or buy stock in a new plant. They all answer real estate.

But having demonstrated the problem, Schulz comes up with the wrong answer—the same wrong answer supplied by David Stockman and George Gilder: lower taxes for the rich so that they will have less incentive to use tax shelters that do not encourage productive investment. Schulz, Stockman, Gilder—for God's sake, why not eliminate the bad tax shelters instead? If you got no tax break for your profits from investment in real estate, oriental rugs, old coins, anything that already exists, but you got a tax break for investing in new enterprise, new plants, new jobs—wouldn't you tend to invest in the latter?

—*Charles Peters*

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REAGAN'S DR. STRANGELOVE

by Jonathan Alter

Every so often a certain kind of person involved in public affairs arouses within those who disagree an emotional response so strong, so angry, that you get a little curious about what it is that causes all the snorts and sighs when his name comes up.

One of those people in Washington right now is Richard Pipes, a Polish-born Harvard professor of Russian history. Pipes became important in 1976 when a team of hardline analysts he headed totally revised CIA estimates of Soviet strength. Since January he has been on leave from Harvard, serving at the White House as senior advisor on Soviet and Eastern European affairs, a critical National Security Council post.

Paul Warnke, an otherwise discreet Washington lawyer and former director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, says that some of Pipes's views on the Soviets are "just full of crap." Averell Harriman, irascible octogenarian that he is, went a little further than usual a couple of years ago when he advised a visitor that Pipes is "nothing but a damn fool." George Kistiakowsky, Eisenhower's science advisor and a well-known expert on arms control issues, told me something utterly libelous about Pipes, took it off the record, then added simply, "I can't rationalize the man for you—that's not possible."

Now, whenever something like this happens—and I've left out many similar examples—it's a good bet that either 1) the person in question has turned out to be at least partially right about a subject on which his critics were sure he was entirely wrong, or 2) he is in fact the arrogant ideologue his detractors claim, and he does in fact overstate his case to the point of being irresponsible if not dangerous.

It has to be admitted that Richard Pipes, superhawk, falls a little into the first category. Like other hardliners, he has at least some reason to feel a perverse sense of vindication over the course of U.S.-Soviet relations. For those more hopeful about detente, the invasion of Afghanistan was a double whammy—it was abhorrent in itself, but it also hurt a little to have to chalk one up for the Cassandras, whose dire warnings turned out to contain a grain of truth.

Jonathan Alter is an editor of The Washington Monthly.

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Conceding that is tough, and it probably makes those of us more dovish about the world feel a bit bitter toward someone like Pipes, who was dishing up tales of Soviet perfidy for his Committee on the Present Danger crowd long before anti-Sovietism became the rage.

But sour grapes doesn't really explain why his opponents go beyond merely disagreeing with someone like Richard Pipes. For that you have to look to the second category. Pipes *does* suffer an acute case of sonorous self-importance, and, in his attitude toward the Soviets, he does cross that thin line separating responsible vigilance from irresponsible provocation. In Washington, professors can usually get away with being either arrogant or inflammatory, but Pipes seems to have ended up in the worst of both worlds. He combines the unpleasant characteristics professors sometimes bring to government with some of the more dubious views associated with today's hardliners. That's a potent mix, and one worth paying attention to when it congeals in the person of the president's top Sovietologist.

Taxing Rock-and-Roll

The only problem is, Pipes isn't really a "Sovietologist" as it's usually defined—that is, a scholar who studies the modern-day Soviet Union. At least he wasn't until a few years ago when he began trading on his name as a Harvard historian of imperial Russia to become an instant expert on current Soviet affairs, the latter being a bear of a very different color. Some professors roam far afield with success, but in Pipes's case, it doesn't work well. His foray into politics leaves him looking like the Noam Chomsky of the Right.

Not surprisingly, none of this has affected the willingness of conservative senators, representatives, and assorted panel hosts to invoke the Harvard pedigree and pit Pipes against the likes of George Kennan and others who are Soviet experts in a more legitimate sense. Nor has it dampened Pipes's willingness, now that he is in government, to speak publicly for the administration on U.S.-Soviet issues. That got him into some trouble in mid-March when he aroused the wrath of numerous other self-styled administration spokesmen by suggesting in an interview with a Reuters reporter that the Soviets will face a choice between reforming their system or "going to war." The knuckle-rapping for speaking out of turn was reported by all three networks, and all press interviews—including mine—were abruptly canceled.

In typical fashion, Pipes, once chastened, sought a scapegoat for his indiscretion, who in this case proved to be the Reuters reporter. Though he had said such things about the Soviets before, and would, in fact, reiterate the basic points of the interview at a conference the following weekend, Pipes passed the word that the reporter's career was "finished." "He'll never

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get another interview in Washington," he assured friends, as if the Reuters man had been one of those Harvard graduate students whose academic careers Pipes can (and does) jettison with a wave of the hand.

The whole affair was vintage Pipes, and it showed that, unlike Kissinger, Brzezinski, and other Machiavellian emigres from academe, this professor has no subtle bureaucratic skills with which to make his way in Washington. What Pipes does have in common with those (more powerful) predecessors is an ability to use his role as resident White House foreign policy intellectual to good advantage by beefing up the natural inclinations of the administration with a little theory and professorial analysis. In this case, that means applying what he knows about Russian history to what Reagan, Richard Allen, and others believe to be the Soviet "grand strategy" to dominate the world.

Pipes argues that the imperialism of Soviet leadership is rooted in the expansionist impulses of czarist Russia, and that the "present danger" is as much the product of the Russian character as it is the result of communism. Using history in this way to make policy is always a tricky business—can you imagine the American expert in the Kremlin evaluating our foreign policy on the basis of 19th century attitudes toward the frontier? It's even trickier when the lesson is controversial—even on the Right.

In recent years, for instance, Pipes's dim view of Russian character has given rise to a bitter dispute with Alexander Solzhenitsyn, who believes that the current state of affairs is the fault of the communist regime, not the Russian people, that the problem is "Soviets" rather than "Russians." (Pipes blames both.) Solzhenitsyn is not alone in his assessment of Pipes's most influential but also most bitterly disputed book, *Russia Under the Old Regime,* which Solzhenitsyn says shows Pipes "willfully ignor[ing] those events, persons, or aspects of Russian life which would not prove conducive to his thesis, which is that the entire history of Russia has but a single purpose—the creation of a police state." Pipes's selective use of evidence, Solzhenitsyn concluded last year in *Foreign Affairs,* "affects me in much the same way as I imagine Rostropovich would feel if he had to listen to a wolf playing the cello."

Notwithstanding that, Pipes and Solzhenitsyn play the same general tune. They share, for instance, a distaste for what they see as the fatigue of American liberal intellectuals and the weakness of modern American culture, both of which were themes of Solzhenitsyn's famous Harvard oration in 1978. Pipes weighed in on the fatigue issue last year at a Kennedy School of Government panel discussion when he accused his colleague Stanley Hoffmann of thinking like "*a tired Vichy-ite.*" His attack on modern Western culture has been known to take an even stranger form. Once, at an after-dinner seminar, Pipes reportedly suggested that ten percent of the U.S. GNP be devoted to nuclear arms alone. How could we possibly afford that, a student asked. One way, Pipes replied, would be a value added tax. On what, the student pressed. "On rock-and-roll records, to start," Pipes answered, Solzhenitsyn-style.

That could have been a genuinely funny remark, but witnesses at the seminar abolutely swear the professor *wasn't joking.* As anyone who has had contact with him will tell you, Pipes is not exactly a smiler. The charming European gentleman in him shows itself on occasion, but the general consensus at Harvard is that he goes well beyond the norm in the arrogance and sourness of his attitude, especially toward students. Shuffling through wintry Cambridge under his fur hat, Pipes has the pensive, troubled look of a man carrying the weight of the Free World on his shoulders. It's as if he wants us to know our future depended not only on general vigilance, but on the correctness—no, the infallibility—of Richard Pipes's particular analysis.

Soviet Anschluss

When colleagues, friendly or otherwise, try to account for the passion of Pipes's approach to the Soviet Union, most point to his background. His perspective is that of an upper-class Polish Jew who escaped from Europe in 1940, not long after Hitler violated his pact with Stalin and invaded Poland alone instead of in tandem with Russia. Understandably, Poles of Pipes's stock have classically considered Russians to be barbarians—not only aggressive, but culturally inferior. One former graduate student recalls that when Pipes returned from his last visit to the Soviet Union a few years ago, he complained bitterly about the shabbiness of his accommodations and the backwardness of the Russian people. By contrast, he returned from a visit to mainland China enthused about the basic goodness of the Chinese.

"He hates Russia—period," says another former graduate student. Since the invasion of

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Afghanistan, Pipes has reportedly not been able to bear meeting or attending conferences with anyone from the Soviet Union, save dissidents. None. No contact. He sees no reason to, because he believes all Soviet leaders essentially think alike. "The whole notion of hawks and doves [in the Kremlin] leaves me very cold," Pipes told a Senate committee last year. This is one of his arguments that leave most people with common sense very cold. "I think there is more reality than Professor Pipes thinks in that distinction," George Kennan told the committee. "There are differences [within the Kremlin] as there would be in any great government confronted with a complexity of foreign policy problems. . . ." The internal bickering over policy isn't always less pronounced in a closed society: witness, for instance, the dispute over invading Czechoslovakia in 1968 and the one that preceded Nixon's visit to Moscow in 1972, both of which have recently come to light. In both cases, important Politburo members are now known to have dissented.

Perhaps the real reason Pipes adopts his "no hawks or doves" line is that it conforms to his idea of a monolithic totalitarian state. Unlike some others who conjure up the memory of appeasement at Munich, Pipes does not make a passing, cursory comparison between the Soviets and the Nazis. For him, the analogy fits nearly perfectly. That the Soviets, like the Nazis, are bound by no "rational" strategy is the very essence of Pipes's thinking about the Russian threat. He argues the irrationality point most forcefully in a famous July 1977 *Commentary* piece entitled "Why the Soviet Union Thinks It Could Fight and Win a Nuclear War," which was reprinted widely at the time and is today considered by many Reagan administration officials to be their keyhole on the Soviet menace. It puts on paper what many of them believe but cannot articulate.

"Soviet doctrine asserts that while an all-out nuclear war would indeed prove extremely destructive to both parties, its outcome would not be mutual suicide: the country better prepared for it and in possession of a superior strategy could win and emerge a viable society," Pipes writes. The real problem, as he has put it over and over, is that Americans are guilty of "mirror-imaging," that is, "assuming [the Russians] to be essentially like us."

The "mirror-imaging" charge is fair enough, although mistaking Russians for Americans is not what you would call a major problem for most U.S. policy-makers nowadays. Where Pipes comes up short is in his suggestion that Soviet leaders not only think differently about war, but even among themselves think in *one* way about it, and that one way is based on something written in the 19th century by Karl von Clausewitz, the German military strategist. Clausewitz, like Horace Greeley or Lord Acton, is remembered best for only one sentence, which in Clausewitz's case reads: "War is the continuation of politics by other means."

To most of us, of course, that ambiguous phrase doesn't signify very much beyond, perhaps, some long-forgotten term paper or class discussion devoted to speculating on its obscure meaning. But to Richard Pipes, burrowed in at the White House, Clausewitz's words lie at "the center of the [current] strategic debate." Pipes not only knows what the words mean for him, he has an idea about what they mean for the Soviets, too. He wrote in *Commentary* that "as long as the Russians persist in adhering to the Clausewitzian maxim on the function of war, mutual deterrence does not really exist."

That's a strange enough statement, but Pipes reviews Soviet military journals and comes to the conclusion that there is virtually no difference of opinion on this matter among Soviet leaders; that's the party line, he claims. Nuclear war is thinkable because Lenin read this German author who said so (even if he did die more than a hundred years before the nuclear age). Pipes cites two principal sources for this view of Soviet intentions. One is an important Soviet strategist named V. D. Sokolovskii. The other is a "confidential" journal called *Military Thought,* which circulates exclusively to Soviet military leaders (the CIA has obtained copies). American Soviet experts generally agree with Pipes that both contain little propaganda and are thus reflective of the thinking of Soviet military strategists.

Pipes quotes Sokolovskii: "It is well known that the essential nature of *war as a continuation of politics does not change with changing technology and armament"* [Pipes's italics]. This, Pipes believes, says it all about Soviet intentions. It is a code phrase that signifies the rejection by Soviet leaders of the idea that nuclear war is suicidal. Furthermore, Pipes testified before a House committee, two other American scholars (much of his research in this area is secondary) have found "that in not a single issue of *Military Thought* which they have is there any advocacy of the principle of mutually assured destruction."

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tion. Most new offices are staffed largely by civil servants from existing offices. Naturally managers of existing offices do not want to give up their best people; on the other hand, they are dying to get rid of their nincompoops and malcontents, since under civil service rules such people can rarely be fired. So federal managers hand over their worst workers when a new agency or office is being created. In the case of the OCRs, managers also figured the anti-discrimination function would be so remote from the main mission of the agency that employees banished there couldn't screw up anything too important. As a result, DOX's OCR has a high number of employees who have beaten the agency in lawsuits of one kind or another (particularly anti-discrimination suits), forcing the government to provide them with high-level positions whether merited or not. This doesn't mean everyone in DOX's OCR is either ill-tempered or incompetent. Obviously not. But the percentage of undesirable employees is dangerously high.

The second reason OCR is the source of so many discrimination complaints is that it is under such pressure to set a good affirmative-action example, it sometimes places unqualified minority people in leadership positions. Thus we have an office loaded with unqualified, litigious employees led by executives of doubtful qualifications, a deadly combination in light of the third factor: OCR employees, who administer the discrimination-complaints process, know better than anyone else how easy it is to manipulate the system.

At the risk of setting loose an avalanche of new complaints, let me describe some of the discrimination allegations employees at DOX have filed recently. Because these complaints are treated confidentially (unless they go to full courtroom trial), I cannot give real names. They are, I assure you, not composites.

• A man I'll call Tucker filed eight complaints in less than six months. One of them contained 17 separate allegations claiming discriminatory acts against him. One alleged act of discrimination was that, after Tucker admittedly disobeyed his supervisor's express instructions, she came into his office and criticized him for it.

• Tucker also filed a complaint about a conference all 12 members of his office attended, the purpose of which was to help them learn to work together better. As part of the program, all participants were asked to write statements about each other, without identifying the author or the subject of the statement. During an encounter-type session, the statements were read aloud. One statement was "This person speaks another language in the office." Although the statement could have referred to at least three people in the room—including the one Tucker believed wrote it—Tucker decided it discriminated against him and filed a complaint.

• Tucker brought another complaint because someone told him that someone said (yes, third-person information) that he (Tucker) "would have a fit" if a new employee were assigned to work with him. Tucker had filed numerous complaints in the past when people were assigned to work with him.

• A woman I'll call Hammond brought a complaint claiming she had been discriminated against because her supervisor denied her permission to take a course at government expense. Her supervisor pointed out that the course was not sufficiently related to her current responsibilities, but was directly related—in fact was a prerequisite for—a new career Hammond had announced she was going to pursue after her retirement at the end of the year.

• A man I'll call Rogers applied for a position requiring certain college-level coursework. The personnel office rated him unqualified because he had received three Ds in the courses. It is DOX policy not to recognize coursework in which Ds are received. As it happened, even if Rogers had passed the courses he still would not have met the minimum requisite coursework. Nevertheless he claimed the "unqualified" rating resulted from racial discrimination.

• Another man filed a complaint alleging that two pages of shorthand notes from the desk of his supervisor's secretary said something bad about him. He refused to explain how he came into possession of the notes. When translated from shorthand the notes made no reference to him at all.

• Another woman brought not just a personal complaint but a class-action complaint over DOX's policy of giving points to job applicants with Ph.D.s. She claimed that because young people were more likely to go to graduate school than old people, giving points for Ph.D.s constituted age discrimination.

Your Decade in Court

Many of these complaints (and those of Lancaster, the complaint-filing champ described in the sidebar) were brought by high-level (GS-13 and above) employees of the OCR. These are people whose entire jobs revolve around a clear understanding of what discrimination is (and

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who are paid very well—$32,000 and more—for their efforts). Either these people are so far from understanding the fundamentals of their own profession that they simply do not know what a *legitimate discrimination complaint looks like*, or they are filing complaints for some other reason. Before we speculate as to what that reason may be, let's look at the complaint process.

The rules governing discrimination complaints were developed by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, an independent federal agency, and apply to all OCRs. Let's say that Bayshore, an Aleutian male, applies for a promotion and is turned down. He believes it was because of his race. Bayshore must first discuss the matter with an Equal Employment Opportunity counselor. Counselors are DOX employees (not from the OCR) who perform this function in addition to their other duties. At an informal session, the counselor will try to resolve the complaint, meeting with Bayshore's supervisor if necessary. If the complaint cannot be resolved informally, the counselor notifies the OCR, and Bayshore files a formal complaint. Federal regulations specifically prohibit the counselor from attempting to dissuade someone from filing a complaint, no matter how frivolous.

The formal process begins with the filing of a simple form, which allows Bayshore to check off the grounds on which he alleges discrimination. OCR reviews the complaint to make sure it complies with procedural rules. Then an OCR investigator is assigned to the case.

The investigator interviews Bayshore, anyone Bayshore mentions in connection with his story, and anyone else who might have something to add. A file is prepared that includes the investigator's report, affidavits from those interviewed, evidence supplied by Bayshore or the witnesses, and other relevant documents. In Bayshore's case, such documents would include a breakdown by race and sex of the promotions in his office during the past year.

This file is turned over to Bayshore and an adjudicator, another OCR official. The adjudicator meets with Bayshore (and, if he has one, Bayshore's attorney) to see if there is any possibility of a settlement. If not, the adjudicator makes up his mind as to the rights and wrongs of the case, gets the approval of his supervisor and the signature of the OCR director, and sends his decision to Bayshore.

Sound reasonable? That's just the beginning, not the end, of the process. If the adjudicator finds that no discrimination occurred, he must notify Bayshore of a right to a hearing before an examiner of the larger Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. This is a full-scale administrative hearing—with lawyers, witnesses on the stand, and a court reporter taking it all down. In this hearing the EEOC examiner goes over exactly the same material that has been reviewed by the investigator, adjudicator, supervisor, and OCR director, all of whom found that no discrimination occurred. The EEOC examiner prepares a "proposed decision," which is sent to the Secretary of X himself for review. The Secretary of X may approve, amend or reverse the examiner's decision.

Now, the secretary of a major agency has more important things to do than review proposed findings about how some GS-13's feelings were hurt at a transactional analysis session. Besides, it usually takes so long to get to this point—often years—that the events complained about happened during a previous administration when some other secretary was in charge. So what happens? The proposed decision is sent right back to the OCR, the office whose original determination is being reviewed.

Let's say the EEOC examiner proposed a finding of no discrimination. Of course that was OCR's position in the first place. Appeals proceed up the ladder only when each rung is a finding of no discrimination, since if discrimination is found the complainant wins and the process stops. So the office is likely to recommend concurrence. But Bayshore isn't finished yet. He has the right to have the EEOC review the Secretary of X's decision based on the recommendations of the OCR, based on the EEOC examiner's proposed findings, based on a review of the OCR adjudicator's decision, based on the OCR investigator's report, based on affidavits, and based on evidence supplied by the witnesses. In all these there is almost certain to be some irregularity. And if even these avenues fail, Bayshore can go to court.

Needless to say, all this takes time. For example, one DOX complaint filed in 1978 finally went to a hearing in March 1981. Remember, that's just the second stage. Completing the rest of the process could easily take another three years, and years more if the complaint goes to court. One drawback of alleging age discrimination is that you may be in a nursing home by the time your case is decided.

What offenses do all these reviewers look for? Well, the Supreme Court is still grappling with a

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Meet Mr. Congeniality 1981

Filing frivolous discrimination complaints has become the national sport of the federal government. Many people play, and competition is heated, but for my money the reigning champ is a man I'll call Fred Lancaster (because, as explained in the main story, confidentiality rules forbid me from using his true name).

Lancaster is a middle-level official of the federal agency for which I am a lawyer. In the past few months he has:

- Filed a complaint because his friend in the office was suspended for two weeks. Lancaster claimed this was actually discrimination against him. The friend was suspended for threatening to kill two OCR employees.
- Filed a complaint alleging that someone told him that someone told him that someone said (that's fourth hand) that Lancaster's boss was going to get him out of the office.
- Filed another complaint alleging discrimination because his supervisor gave an assignment to Lancaster's assistant without going through Lancaster. During the investigation, the supervisor explained that she did this because Lancaster had refused to speak to his assistant for several weeks.
- Filed a complaint because a fellow official had threatened to strike him. Lancaster alleged that prejudice was the motive. The fellow official is of the same sex, age group, and ethnic group as Lancaster.
- Filed complaints practically every time someone criticized his work or gave him assignments he didn't like. He also filed complaints each time his supervisor, unable to correct Lancaster's inadequate work, attempted to assign it to someone else. In all he filed more than 30 complaints in just over a year. That's one complaint every eight working days.
- Last summer, two female college interns were assigned to Lancaster's office. He and another employee invited them to his apartment so he could "help [them] with their SF-171s," procedural forms. At the apartment, he made what used to be called improper advances. The interns spoke to Lancaster's supervisor. The supervisor told Lancaster he was not to see the women socially. Lancaster filed a discrimination complaint for sexual harassment.

These complaints are now in a complex, lawsuit-like formal hearing process, where they may remain for years. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission rules forbid dismissing complaints merely because they are ridiculous. At no step of the way are federal officials permitted to toss these complaints back and say, "Aw, come on Lancaster, what do you take us for?" But that may not be necessary. It's very clear what Lancaster takes them for.

—*N.M.*

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or go unheard, while millions of dollars and thousands of hours are wasted on a process known by all its participants to have little if any meaning.

There are, I think, some simple steps that would uncomplicate things. First, agency offices of civil rights should be done away with. (Some OCRs have other functions besides processing complaints; these functions could be transferred to other parts of the agency.) All discrimination complaints should be heard by a single agency, probably the EEOC. This step alone would eliminate several redundant layers of procedure. It has been suggested repeatedly in the past. Second, other stages should be eliminated, particularly the EEOC-level review, which is just a replay of previous reviews. EEOC investigators and adjudicators could consider each case and propose findings, which would become final unless amended or reversed by the head of the agency accused of discrimination. Formal court-like appeals would not be automatic, but limited to a strict standard of review where gross miscarriages of justice were indicated. Third, ADOs should be informed of the charges against them and given a full right to respond. Lastly, there must be a way of weeding out the worthless complaints in order to free the system to address legitimate ones. I believe the best way is for any sanctions to come from an objective third party, rather than the complainant's supervisor (who is usually the ADO). The most convenient objective third party is the adjudicator, who would be authorized to dismiss groundless complaints. (Under my scheme the adjudicator would be an EEOC, not an OCR, employee, so he would not work for the agency under investigation.)

These changes would, I think, make the federal anti-discrimination system more efficient and equitable without removing necessary safeguards against prejudice. As it stands the OCR process is a practical joke, useful mainly to inept or malicious employees obsessed with selfishness. Only when both bigotry and selfishness are expelled from government can the system truly achieve its goals, public service and the spreading of justice. I hope these ideas don't strike you as old-fashioned. □

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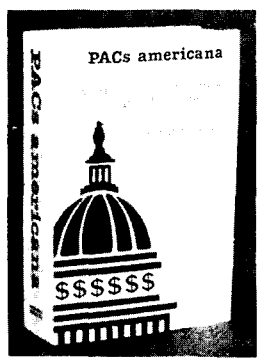

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Of course it didn't pass. You forgot to multiply the result by the natural log of the cube root of pi.

According to *The Seattle Times,* a bill before the Washington state legislature would require that all rules issued by state regulatory agencies pass something called the "Flesch reading ease test." Regulatory language would have to achieve a score of 50 or more as defined this way:

"The Flesch reading ease score for an individual code section shall be computed as follows: a) divide the total number of words in the section by the total number of sentences and multiply the result by 1.015; b) divide the total number of syllables in the section by the total number of words and multiply the result by 84.6; c) subtract the sum of the figures achieved by a) and b) from 206.835. This number is the Flesch reading ease test score of the section."

The Flesch reading ease test does not pass the Flesch reading ease test. Its score is 37.28.

MORE! MORE! BEAT ME!

John LeBoutillier, the youngest member of Congress and author of *Harvard Hates America,* recently sent a "Dear Colleague" letter to other congressmen. "One of the best sources of information is your regularly issued press releases and newsletters," LeBoutillier said. "I would greatly appreciate your consideration in adding my name to your mailing list."

Say "Toy Boat Toy Boat Toy Boat"

The District of Columbia has its own fireboat. The boat is manned around the clock, which costs the District $565,000 a year. There hasn't been a serious river fire near Washington for more than three decades.

No Wonder They Were on Sale

Recently a member of our staff bought a pair of Quadraflex stereo speakers. The speakers were so elaborately wrapped he had a great deal of difficulty getting them out of the box. Two layers of dovetailed cardboard shields, two layers of plastic shields, and various fasteners were removed before the speakers were out. Attached to each speaker was a sealed envelope. What was inside the envelope? Instructions on how to open the box.

tidbits & outrages

Asked why he had written such a trivial letter, Thiel explained that he hadn't been eating properly....

John Thiel, executive director of the American Dietetic Association, has sent letters to editors of the nation's newspapers asking them to refer to people who give nutritional advice as "dietitians," not "dieticians."

"Most of the ADA's members are Registered Dietitians, a status conferred on them after the successful completion of a certification examination," the letter states. "Because the trademark, Registered Dietitian, has been filed with the Patent and Trademark Office of the Department of Commerce using the 't' spelling, ADA respectfully requests that your style manual be changed."

But Then Reagan's Always Had a Fondness for Acting

By now it is well known that the Reagan administration did not exactly hit the ground running. Further evidence comes from a memo to officials of the Department of Energy, dated one month after the inauguration. It is addressed to:

Acting Assistant Secretary for Conservation and Solar Programs
Acting Assistant Secretary for Defense Programs
Acting Assistant Secretary for Environment
Acting Assistant Secretary for Fossil Energy
Acting Assistant Secretary for Nuclear Energy
Acting Assistant Secretary for Resource Applications
Acting Director, Energy Research

The memo was from the Acting Undersecretary.

In case you think it is harsh to criticize Reagan for not having any appointments in place a month after he took office, be advised: as we went to press, only two of DOE's eight assistant secretary positions had been filled.

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How to Bring Our Allies to Their Knees

by William R. Schulz

I want to tell you about a new idea that will save us all billions of dollars. But first I have to tell you how it came to me.

Not too long ago, leaders of the Phoenix, Arizona, business community assembled to hear General Bernard Rogers give a talk about the status of NATO and the threat it faced from the Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact countries. It was standard stuff. The Soviet bloc has more of everything than the West does. We are vulnerable. Our 14 NATO allies should contribute more to their own defense, but are unable to do so because of tender political situations within their own nations. Given that, we have to pick up the slack.

General Rogers is an impressive man, but all of a sudden the whole pitch began to bug the hell out of me. It bugged the hell out of me to think that I'm expected to pay more for defense when I'm already paying six cents on every dollar of GNP and our 14 NATO partners pay only about three cents. The Japanese, who clobber us daily in the world market, pay *less than one cent.* Think of the capital formation advantage this gives our allies. It's no wonder they paste us with their exports. Some others in the audience asked questions which showed them thinking along the same lines.

My mind raced through the folly of the Russians deliberately lowering their standard of living to buy more arms. This folly was invoked by the General to get me to pay more. He implied that if I didn't pay more, I was soft. I found myself thinking, "Wait a minute, isn't economic strength basic to sustained military strength?" Of course it is. So how can we justify defending and competing with our allies at the same time? It's turning our economy blue.

Either they would contribute what they owe for our mutual defense . . . or we'd assess what they owe as a tariff on their products.

This ludicrous state of affairs has gone on so long that half of our allies now exceed us in per capita income—no longer poor war-torn waifs—and the other half will pass us in the next decade unless we put an end to this madness. Yet the General diplomatically deflected any suggestion that our allies are letting us down.

By this time I was really wound up. I suddenly had an uncontrollable urge to stand up and do a Peter Finch imitation: "General, I'm a mad-as-hell taxpayer and I'm not going to take it any more!" All at once I had a daydream that the rest of the audience did the same. I imagined our chant: No more money until our leaders can show us that they can buy tanks that work, planes that fly, troops that are trained! No more money until you get our rich allies paying their fair share! I imagined that the audience booed the General off the stage, and that Senator Percy, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, was there. He was horrified. It would be in all the papers

William R. Schulz, a Phoenix businessman, was the 1980 Democratic senatorial candidate from Arizona.

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and on television in all our allied countries. They would be horrified.

Then the idea hit me. Why send Caspar Weinberger over to get down on his knees and beg the West Germans and Japanese for a measly one-percent increase they will never agree to? Why give Chancellor Schmidt the chance to say his country can't afford it, or Prime Minister Suzuki the chance to say the socialists/communists will be elected if Japan is forced to pay more? Under my plan, they won't be able to say that any longer.

Let's establish a Trilateral Defense Fund to which our allies would be invited to contribute their fair share. If they chose not to pitch in, we would simply assess what they owed us as a tariff on the products they sold in the United States. This tariff should dispose of the competitive advantage they have gained through their failure to shoulder their part of the defense burden.

Our attitude would be straightforward: "Do you want your products sold in the U.S.? Fine. No problem. All it takes is a little cooperation on your part. When you cooperate, we'll cooperate." Either they would contribute what they owe for our mutual defense or give up their trade edge. Easy enough.

Of course, if they don't want to ante up, that would solve our auto import problem. And we wouldn't have to endure the humiliation of asking them please not to send us so many cars. Instead of being the red-faced closet protectionist we are today, we would be all for free trade—as soon, that is, as they paid their fair share for defense. Odds are that foreign auto manufacturers would have some incentive to help us in this task.

Think of all those lectures the Japanese and European leaders have given us about getting our economic house in order, and think of the looks on their faces when they get their first annual statement from the Trilateral Defense Fund. It's delicious, isn't it? □

The Vietnam War in the Words of the Men and Women Who Fought There

NAM

by Mark Baker

Vietnam—what was it *really* like? To find out, Mark Baker interviewed 70 men and women who served there. NAM is the result—a true oral history of that bloody and muddled conflict. "NAM," writes Mark Baker, "is not the truth about Vietnam. Everyone holds a piece of that puzzle. But these war stories, filled with emotion and stripped of ambition and romance, may bring us closer to the truth than we have come so far."

"It is impossible for me to describe the power of this book. But I promise you what will perhaps be the most memorable reading experience of your life. I cannot recommend this work too highly."—Harry Crews

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THE WORST CARE MONEY CAN BUY

By Dr. Robert L. Braham and Dr. Thomas Lee

Why is Ronald Reagan alive today? Partly because the hospital treated him like any junkie dragged in off the street after a gang shootout. If he'd been treated like the president, he might not have made it.

Reagan was taken to George Washington University Medical Center, a teaching hospital. The approach there was strictly business as usual. Dr. William Knaus, co-director of the hospital's intensive care unit, notes that "the physicians treating the president were the same physicians who would have treated any gunshot victim." They were the interns and residents who happened to be on duty at the moment. They started Reagan's intravenous and cut off his clothes immediately. The surgeons who operated on Reagan were the ones who happened to be on call for trauma service. No outside experts or department chairmen sewed a stitch.

The president was lucky—lucky to be taken to a teaching hospital, and lucky to be treated like an anonymous junkie. This points to one of the great ironies of modern medicine, one well known to many doctors: the poor sometimes get better medical care than the rich.

Wealthier patients and those with the best insurance opt for private hospitals or the private floors of teaching hospitals, where they receive care from their personal physicians. Their rooms look more like hotel than hospital rooms: there are fresh flowers, phones that work, and pleasant food. Poorer patients—whose admissions are frequently emergencies—must go where the ambulance takes them. They may end up in a fourth-rate ghetto hospital staffed by indifferent doctors a generation behind the times. But they may end up at teaching hospitals and be admitted to ward services. Many poor people might consider that bad luck. In teaching wards conditions are severe—there is little privacy, waits are long, and patients are examined and poked at by a seemingly endless procession of white coats. First medical students. Then a 27-year-old intern. Then a resident, barely a year older. None can take the time to offer a full explanation of the patient's condition, or a gentle preparation for whatever treatment lies ahead. It's confusing and chaotic and, to the poor patient, more than a little spooky.

Yet which patient is likely to get the best care, the wealthy one in his well-appointed room or the indigent one in the chaos of the teaching ward? Clearly, private patients are more likely to go home *believing* that their physician is a genius and their care was superb. But these impressions are usually based on courtesies like better accommodations, a wider selection of food, and a fighting chance of having it arrive warm—in short, the amenities. Once these are stripped away, whether they receive better *medical* care—a careful diagnostic evaluation, the safest and most effective drugs, prudent consideration of surgery's merits—is difficult for them to know.

Both rich and poor patients usually receive adequate or even superb care. But if doctors were asked to bet on who was more likely to benefit from medicine's latest advances and the most sophisticated technology, smart money would be on the poor patient, the one lucky enough to be on ward service.

Why? The reasons involve how patients pick their doctors, how doctors regard their patients, and, above all, how medical decisions are made in private and ward settings.

The poor in ward settings may be treated by doctors still in training. They may feel alienated by a system that keeps them waiting hours, puts them on research protocols, and sends them back to the same environment that made them ill in the first place. Still, despite these faults, teaching hospitals and their ward services often offer the best medical care. Well-informed, careful medicine is institutionalized in the way decisions are made. In the majority of cases, this extra measure of caution and compulsiveness makes no difference—doctors will admit when pressed that most patients tend to get better or worse no matter what we do. But every now and

Robert L. Braham is chief of ambulatory and community medicine at The New York Hospital, Cornell University Medical College's teaching hospital in Manhattan. Thomas Lee is a resident physician at Brigham and Women's Hospital, a Boston hospital affiliated with Harvard Medical School.

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then the intellectual rigor of ward medicine means life instead of death.

For example, there's the story of the widow of a U.S. president, a case that has been whispered about within medical circles since her death some 20 years ago. Her physicians were well trained and worked at one of the nation's most famous hospitals. When she became ill, bleeding and bruising at the lightest touch, her doctors arrived at a grim diagnosis—a fatal blood disease. Her care in general was excellent, but one crucial test, an open bone marrow biopsy, was omitted.

Perhaps the doctors skipped this painful test because they were fairly certain the great lady was dying and did not want to subject her to any unnecessary suffering. Instead they began treatment with prednisone, a drug that is often helpful against blood diseases but has a serious side effect—it lowers the body's resistance to infection.

If the patient had been no one special she probably would have had the biopsy. Poorer patients in the same situation are more likely to get medicine "by the book," and with it the biopsy. More often than not, the book is right. Had her doctors done the biopsy, they would have learned that their diagnosis was wrong, and that the former first lady's real problem was tuberculosis. The prednisone enabled her TB to spread even further, and she died not long afterward.

While senators and socialites go to society doctors, doctors themselves almost never do.

This is just one example of a patient who got less-than-optimal care from her doctors out of deference. There are other tales like it. There's the case of a famous New York actress who died of cervical cancer because her doctor did not subject her to the indignity of a pelvic exam and PAP smear. And almost every doctor has known a prominent businessman who was not told he was an alcoholic until his liver failed. Ward patients are usually spared such gentility.

Physicians tell stories about famous-patient fiascos because we know that any of us could make the same mistakes. When a celebrity or a personal friend walks into the office, treating him like anyone else is difficult, just as giving good care to family members is nearly impossible. There's a tendency to work around uncomfortable tests or treatments, and to ignore unpleasant diagnoses—a tendency that can lead to disastrous results.

The Doctor's Doctor

Ironically, the most famous and wealthiest patients often do not see the best physicians in the first place. They make their way to doctors perceived as "prominent" by the public, but known within medicine as "society doctors."

These physicians enjoy reputations based more on social grace than medical acumen. Many once were excellent physicians, and some still are. But they become more comfortable at cocktail parties than medical conferences. They have plush offices and excellent tailors—enough to convince most patients they are "super-doctors." But those inside medicine know better. While senators and socialites go to society doctors, doctors themselves almost never do.

The doctors other doctors seek are almost always affiliated with teaching hospitals. Many are full-time academics—they have their offices at the hospital, and may be involved in some research in addition to their clinical work. Even if they are based outside the hospital, these physicians usually are involved in teaching medical students, interns, and residents. Beyond medicine's financial rewards, they like being in an environment where teaching and learning are going on, and they enjoy doing a little of each. That requires reading journals and attending seminars, demands that don't leave much time for afternoon golf.

Even though "doctors' doctors" are so strongly associated with teaching hospitals, some patients fear these temples of modern medicine. For them, seeing the fresh-faced students, the specialists who always seem to travel in groups, and the doors with strange names like "Nuclear Medicine" is a terrifying experience.

Patients worry that where there is teaching, there is learning—that is, there are research projects demanding experimental subjects, and there are doctors-in-training.

Unable to identify their doctors, patients begin to wonder if they have somehow ceased being patients and become mere "teaching material." They perceive every procedure to be an experiment at their expense, and feel trapped on a path that can lead to surgery with the knife in the hands of a novice, and finally to an

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anatomy class dissection table. Such suspicions are especially strong among the poor and other alienated groups for whom manipulation is nothing new. But even the wealthiest experience a new sense of vulnerability when ill. Thus a fear expressed at teaching hospitals almost as often as "Do I have cancer?" is "Doc, am I going to be a guinea pig?"

When wealthier patients opt for private or community hospitals where there are fewer specialists, they get the promise of peace, quiet rooms, and a doctor to call their own. They are not subjected to sequential examinations by students, interns, residents, and fellows. Nor do they fear that their care will be part of a guessing game in the guise of research.

But care is *less* of an experiment at teaching hospitals than other institutions. True, there are almost always some patients getting experimental drugs, but these are people whom traditional medicine cannot offer a clear-cut "best" therapy. They often have incurable diseases such as end-stage heart failure or metastatic cancers. In more routine cases, such as pneumonias or ulcers, physicians at teaching hospitals leave as little as possible to chance. When guesses must be made, they are more likely to be well-informed choices.

In a nonteaching hospital, the patient's personal physician often makes decisions alone. These days, staying up to date in any one field of medicine is difficult; mastering them all is impossible. Single-doctor decisions such as the choice of drugs tend to reflect personal experience rather than the sum of medical wisdom. If a doctor has used penicillin to treat certain infections for 30 years, he'll probably use penicillin again.

A famous New York actress died because her doctor did not subject her to the indignity of a pelvic exam.

In contrast, at a teaching hospital virtually all decisions about patient care are made by a team of students, residents, attending physicians, and nurses. More responsibility is given to senior physicians, of course, and ideally the junior members are supervised closely. But major decisions or procedures are almost never undertaken alone, and when expert advice is needed, subspecialty consultants are freely available. Thus poor patients on ward services are routinely evaluated by a spectrum of clinicians ranging from students to international experts.

Information does not flow in one direction in such a setting. In a teaching hospital, *everyone* teaches, and everyone learns. Medical students are fresh from lectures on the latest research. Residents interact with a variety of specialists. A surgical resident might show an attending physician a new technique just learned from another surgeon. A resident in internal medicine, having just handled a similar case with a top cardiologist, will often know more about a disease than the patient's own attending physician.

This team system thus minimizes the chances of poor medical care due to the inexperience of a single member, and provides a constant peer review that singles out incompetence. A properly functioning team, in contrast to a chain, is stronger than its strongest member.

The team system has its costs, of course. Poor patients in teaching wards must be evaluated by several doctors, and huge amounts of discussion go into every case's management. The patient who expects one Marcus Welby-like father figure to bend over him instead hears reports from several doctors, sometimes with conflicting opinions. Beyond these problems, the two-class system of care (private versus ward) has stigmatized teaching services as a form of care for the poor, while fostering the notion that anyone who can afford private care should seek it.

But because of the way decisions are made, because doctors at teaching hospitals are often intellectually more aggressive and rigorous, and because they tend to practice medicine by the book, the poor often get the best health care.

That's no reason, of course, that poor patients should be subjected to long waits, crowded rooms, cold food, or curt explanations. And there is no excuse for allowing them to think, however incorrectly, that they are receiving second-class care. The damage from such notions lasts longer than the scars from any surgery.

Thus many teaching hospitals are moving toward one-class medicine, a system that tries to combine the graciousness of a private physician system with the intellectual rigor of a ward teaching system. It will be a difficult transition, but the promise it holds is a fascinating one: someday, people with names like Rockefeller and Rothschild might stand just as good a chance of getting exceptional health care as their butlers and maids. □

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WHO'S BUYING WASHINGTON'S EXPENSIVE HOUSING?

by Barbara Palmer

I took a drive through the fancy sections of Northwest Washington recently and wished I had brought along earplugs. Who said the home-building business is sickly? It seemed as if every other corner showed some sign of a new luxury development under way, bulldozers roaring. Up Reservoir Road alongside "The Cloisters" and "Hillandale"; a turn, and then past "Foxhall Terrace" on the left; northward toward the newly subdivided Rockefeller estate. Everywhere.

Like other people who've been around Washington awhile, I was struck by how different it was from the placid drives through the quiet, totally unchanging neighborhoods I can remember from only a few years ago. Suddenly, money is gushing into these neighborhoods—new money, and lots of it. The changes are coming fast, and the effects on Washington are obvious, but the source of all the new wealth is still something of a mystery. And the scale of the changes—even for long-time residents—is jarring.

One reason it's jarring is that traditionally the capital has been a city associated with power, not money. The two did not necessarily go hand-in-hand in Washington, as they have in other cities. Sure, there had always been a certain group of moneyed people here—in the old days, the most aristocratic of them were called the "cliff dwellers." But the number had always been small, and luxury housing—the most important sign of their wealth—more than met demand. The wealthy few were always able to find luxury housing in Georgetown, Foxhall, and other tony neighborhoods of Northwest Washington because the bulk of Washington's ruling class couldn't always afford the fancier homes in those areas. As high government officials this ruling class might have had power, but they took home government salaries. So in the postwar period they moved into smaller homes in Northwest, or to the suburbs, where land was less expensive. In fact, from World War II until the mid-1970s, luxury construction was limited to the suburbs.

It was these people—the well-off but not truly wealthy federal employees—who used to set the pace in Washington. If the most luxurious homes in the Northwest section of town were often a little out of their league, nothing else was. The better hotels, good restaurants, and practically everything else were geared roughly to what that group could afford. Washington may not have been the cheapest big city in the country, but through the mid-1970s it was a city whose economy, style, and *whole way of life* were a reflection of the federal bureaucrat.

No more. As anyone who has been around Washington lately can attest, the changes—at first imperceptible—have become unmistakable. Every time you pick up a newspaper, you read about some fancy boutique or department store

Barbara Palmer is a Washington writer.

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that's just opening a Washington branch, or some new, ritzy restaurant downtown—catering at lunchtime almost exclusively to expense-account customers. Car dealers report that Washington is now among the top six markets in the country for luxury cars, and trails only mammoth and car-crazy Los Angeles in demand for some models. Expensive clothing was doing a brisk business *before* Nancy Reagan hit town.

But the biggest change of all is in real estate. So many people can now afford to taste high living that the luxury housing that has served Washington's upper crust for so long is suddenly scarce. That has driven up the value of existing homes and lured all kinds of new development. The city is now experiencing the biggest boom in high-priced luxury housing in 40 years. In Northwest Washington, there's hardly a vacant lot not being bulldozed, and the past five years have seen the sale of nearly a half-dozen large estates that are now being developed as high-density, high-cost housing. Together they add up to many hundreds of new homes—all priced in the half-million-dollar range, and all featuring amenities like private elevators, whirlpool baths, and 18-carat-gold plumbing fixtures. That each occupies on average less than a quarter acre doesn't seem to bother the new buyers. Neither do the sometimes less-than-breathtaking window views.

"When it comes to expensive homes in quantity, Washington is where it's happening," says Steve Willmann, assistant vice-president for sales and marketing at Crowell & Baker, a development company. "There are only two other areas in the United States I can think of that compare right now. One is Beverly Hills and the other is Palm Beach."

Crowell & Baker specializes in the luxury market. "We'd be hard-pressed to build anything for under $450,000," Willmann says. Currently, the company is building 120 Palladian-style homes on the estate of the late Nelson A. Rockefeller, beginning at its bargain-basement price of $457,000. The homes are located just off Foxhall Road, an area reeking with snob appeal even without the Rockefeller cachet. So far, 22 of the first 26 homes have been sold.

Polite people aren't supposed to ask, but we're going to anyway: *Who the hell are the people buying these places and where do they get their money?* If you're not part of this new Washington, it's often hard to tell. But the answer contains some insights that go beyond satisfying plain curiosity, and the Washington that is emerging because of these changes is a very different place from what it was even five or six years ago. Let's find out who's responsible.

Weeding Riffraff

As you've probably guessed, one group that is *not* a significant force in this new wave of affluence is the federal work force. Although the federal budget has increased many times in the past decade, the number of government employees has remained about the same. What's more, most top federal salaries beneath the Cabinet level range between $50,000 and $55,000 a year. While undeniably comfortable, that hardly qualifies their recipients for the monthly payments of $3,793.35 on a $300,000 mortgage at 15 percent.

As one local real estate agent put it, "It's not the people on [government] salaries who are buying these expensive homes." As a matter of fact the market for medium-priced housing, which now sells for $130,000 to $250,000 in Washington, is all but dead right now, its demise attributable to inflated prices and high interest rates. About the only bureaucrats who can afford the new luxury housing are those lucky enough to have a husband or wife also pulling down a top-of-the-line government salary. For other government employees, it's go in with a rich uncle or forget it.

Okay, so the Federal Directory won't help us. Where to look next? One place to find luxury real estate news is a monthly magazine called *Washington Dossier,* a Michelin guide to the moneyed set. Started six years ago, the magazine is mailed free to some who possess that most unlikely of all status symbols, a socially acceptable zip code. Other, less fortunate rich people have to pay $1.95 for it on the newsstand.

Foxhall Terrace, a development of luxury homes where prices start at $589,000, once went beyond *Washington Dossier* and took out an ad in *The Washington Post.* The results were disappointing. According to a sales agent, the ad attracted all sorts of "riffraff" who could qualify for housing only in the $400,000 range. That was it for the *Post* ad.

Sniffing new business, the magazine late last year put out a real estate advertising supplement for distribution among incoming members of the Reagan administration. Called "The Indispensable Guide to Washington Real Estate," the supplement identified the city's best neighborhoods and advised the uninitiated that $250,000 buys something "respectable, but no status symbol," while at $450,000, "you're beginning to

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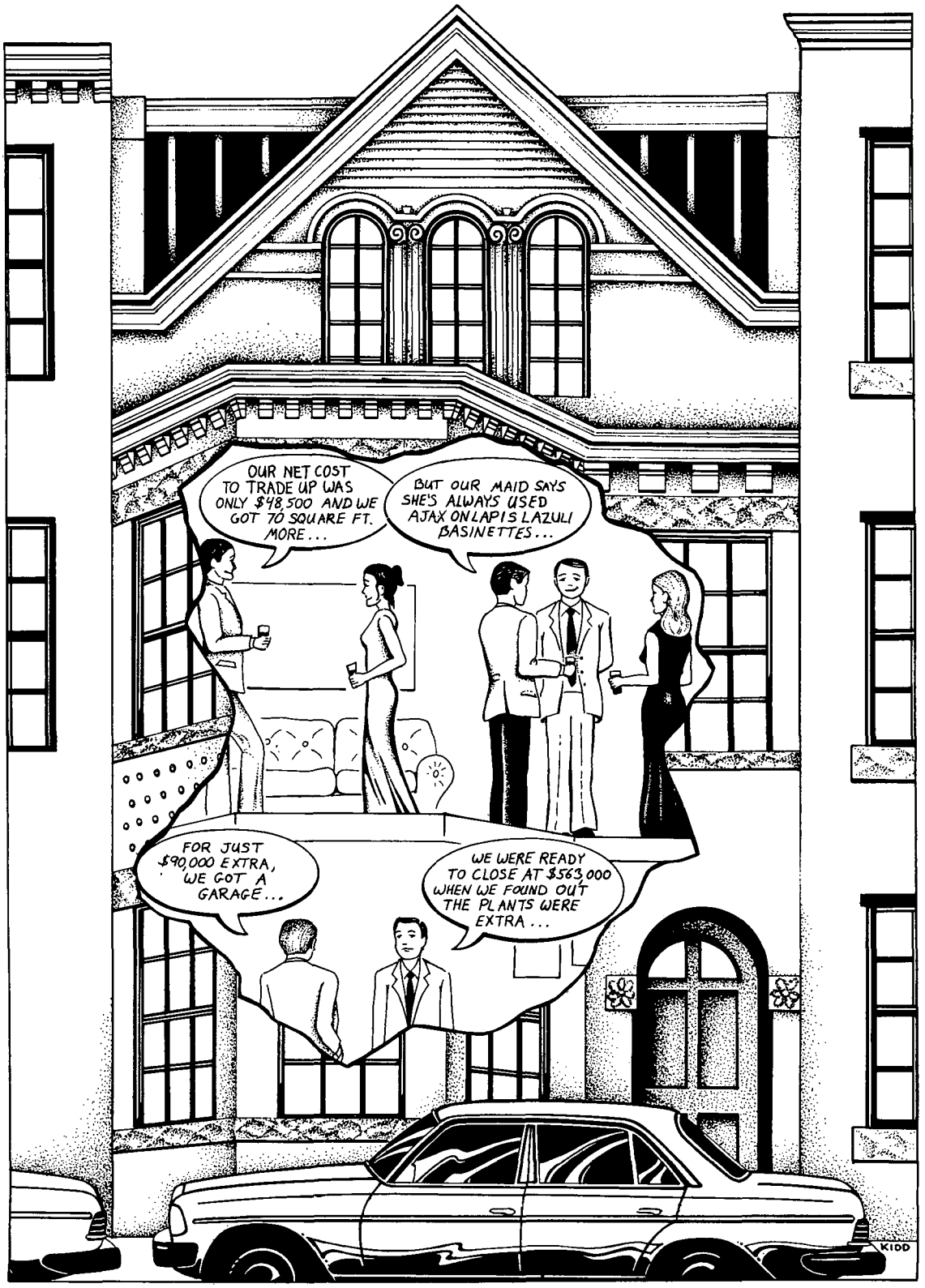

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nudge prestige." At $1 million, "you're making a real statement," but anything selling for more than $2 million, the guide cautioned, "is likely to be an FBI front." (Actually, there is some truth to this last point. While Washington has a large volume of housing in the $300,000 to $750,000 range, it doesn't have the super-expensive properties of, say, a Beverly Hills or Houston.)

But looking for high-ranking Reagan administration officials doesn't tell you much about the identity of the new crowd. The greening of Washington may be a recent phenomenon, but it started at least a few years before California came east. The fact is, the vast majority of big spenders reported by Rufus S. Lusk and Sons Publishing Co. during the first four months of 1981 don't ring any bells at all. But that doesn't really matter, because the names all have occupations attached to them, and the occupations, available through the Martindale-Hubbell book and other public records, tell you something about who has the money to buy the existing luxury housing, and who is likely to buy the new digs when they're finished. So even though you've never heard of any of these people, we're going to let you meet a few of them, in their natural habitat, of course—the Washington cocktail party.

Mystery Date

First stop on our hypothetical tour is Wesley Heights. As always, the conversations cover only the old Washington standbys: politics, real estate, and "Who are you with?"

Hostess: "Hello darling, I'd like you to meet David Hensler, who moved recently into 4447 Hawthorne ($320,000). He's with the law firm of Hogan and Hartson.

"And this is Jay Carlson, who bought 4437 Cathedral ($355,000). He's a partner with Miller and Chevalier.

"Over by the escargot is Gerald Parsky, who recently moved into the house at 2934 Glover Drive. He's a partner in the Washington office of Gibson, Dunn and Crutcher, the California firm of our new attorney general, William French Smith.

"And there's Boisfeuillet Jones—friends call him 'Bo'—who bought 4331 Forest Lane, N.W. ($340,000). He's vice-president and counsel at *The Washington Post.*

"That gentleman examining my Brancusi is another new neighbor, Brendan Sullivan. He bought 2925 Glover Drive ($305,000). He's a partner with Williams and Connolly.

"And the man by our 17th century credenza is Duncan Whitaker, who moved into the house at 4308 Forest Lane ($525,000), the one Richard Nixon used to live in. Same house, different law firm."

Now let's drive over to the Cathedral area:

Hostess: "Hello darling, I want you to meet Paul Coughlin, who lives at 3305 39th Street ($340,000). He's the Washington representative for Union Pacific Corporation, and also a lawyer.

"And this is Peter Barnes, who recently moved into 3303 39th Street ($339,500). He's a partner with the law firm of Leva, Hawes, Symington, Martin and Oppenheimer.

"There next to the grandfather clock is Jack Wehrly, who moved into 3301 39th ($349,500). He's vice-president for government affairs of Dow Corning, a silicon company. "

(There's not much time for chitchat, but I'll tell you what Wehrly said when I asked him why his company needed a Washington office: "Because we felt it was time the government started listening to business people, too, and not just these activist groups like Ralph Nader." He added that Dow Corning's competitors, General Electric and Union Carbide, also have Washington offices.)

We'll skip Georgetown; it's too hard to park. Besides, it's mostly more doctors and lawyers. But while we're driving past, let me tell you about a new place called The Cloisters of Georgetown, where townhouses are selling for $310,000 to $475,000, largely for the *elan* of living near all those bars and patisseries. Standard features at the Cloisters include not only a private elevator and his-and-her bathtubs in the master bedroom suite, but that most coveted of all Georgetown amenities: a garage.

Up at the newly subdivided Rockefeller estate they don't find that especially impressive. The "bathing suites" in Foxhall Crescent, according to its brochure, are "thoughtfully divided into four zones for privacy" and include a "built-in whirlpool . . . separate shower; and a private room with bidet and commode." The basins, just in case you were wondering, are hand-painted ceramic and the fixtures, 18-carat gold. For a relatively small extra charge, they can be inlaid with lapis lazuli. Foxhall Crescent also offers, according to the brochure, "an embassy-sized dining room . . . kitchen equipment [that] reads like a *Who's Who* of haute cuisine [sic] and a sumptuous master suite [that] has a fireplace in the sitting area for hours of quiet reverie."

But we're not in the mood for that right now,

(Main story continued on page 37.)

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Lodging in Luxury

The desk clerk greets you by name and assigns you to your favorite room, where a fruit basket, cheese, and wine are waiting. Room service knows you like a whiskey at 6:30 p.m. (and your shoes shined before dawn). The maitre d' seats you away from the piano and orders for you. Returning to your room, you find the bed turned down and expensive chocolates on your pillow. Before retiring you wash with complimentary imported soap, slip into a complimentary terrycloth robe, and read a complimentary newspaper.

An English duke on holiday in the Alps? Hardly. This is the description of a business trip to Washington, D.C. Along with the new caste of prosperous lawyers, lobbyists, and other governmental appurtenances settling in Washington and buying its breathtakingly priced real estate [see main story], there is a new caste of similar folks who travel to the capital on a regular basis. To serve those moneyed visitors a half-dozen luxury hotels have sprung up in the last few years. Unlike the luxury hotels of Europe, which cater to the old-money establishment and the middle-class couples who save all year for a smashing vacation, Washington's new luxury hotels cater to the expense account. Fully 80 percent of their weekday business comes from corporate executives and others traveling at company expense.

The base price for a single person in these new hotels is close to $90 a night. Suites costing up to $500 are available, and often occupied. Obviously people traveling at their own expense can't afford such prices. But that doesn't mean they aren't paying anyway. Expense-account trips are tax-deductible. So the bulk of the new luxury hotels' business is being underwritten by the taxpayer, making the high prices possible. Average taxpayers must shell out more to compensate for executives lounging in subsidized luxury.

With the price come many "complimentary" extras like the terrycloth robe, which in truth isn't complimentary at all. The cost is factored into the room rate. Calling it complimentary is an important concession to the expense-account lifestyle. Corporate accountants back at the home office might challenge an expense account listing "terrycloth robe—$8.25." But they can't challenge what they can't see, so as much luxury as possible is hidden in the base rate.

Washington hotels weren't always like this. Twenty years ago, Washington was a federal city, with prices geared to what tourists and government employees traveling to the capital from elsewhere in the country could pay. In 1961 the most a civil servant could claim as a room expense was $12 a day, so few hotels exceeded that. One hotel, the Hay-Adams, was considered by many a luxury hotel because its decorating scheme was grand. But prices there were not much higher than at other hotels.

During the 1960s, all this began to change. Government got bigger, regulations increased, and businessmen decided a strong presence in Washington was essential. As explained in the main article, the federal government payroll stopped growing, but the number of private employees who influence or profit from the government—lawyers, lobbyists, consultants, and so on—skyrocketed. Washington began to change from a federal city to a corporate city.

Now that so many law firms, corporations, and associations have Washington offices, executives from offices all over the country have an excuse to travel to the capital and sample its glamorous good life. If your company has a Washington lobbying office, it can hardly be expected to function properly unless executive vice-presidents from Detroit and Omaha "confer" on a regular basis, can it? There are some subtle points you just can't get across on the telephone. No executive vice-president worth his Cartier watch is going to stay at HoJo's, so demand for expense-account luxury hotels skyrocketed, too. The growth of corporate Washington is paralleled by the growth of the hotels:

1961 Luxury Hotels

Hay-Adams

1981 Luxury Hotels

Hay-Adams
Fairfax
Four Seasons
Jefferson
Madison and its sister, Dolley Madison
One Washington Circle
Sheraton-Carlton
Watergate

Some of these hotels are all-new, but most were recently acquired and renovated by people aware of the demand for luxury accommodations. John Coleman, a Chicago industrialist, bought the Fairfax for $5 million in 1977. In 1979 he spent twice that amount on renovations. French hotel

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executive Georges Mosse bought the Hay-Adams in 1979 for somewhere between $10 million and $15 million. Around that time the Four Seasons opened in Georgetown. In 1980 Edward Bennett Williams, who had purchased the Jefferson in 1976, lured hotshot manager Rose Narva away from the Sheraton-Carlton (which she had transformed into a luxury hotel) and told her to give his property the same treatment. Her efforts were so successful that during the transition period almost all of Reagan's cabinet members stayed at the Jefferson. Some administration figures are living there indefinitely.

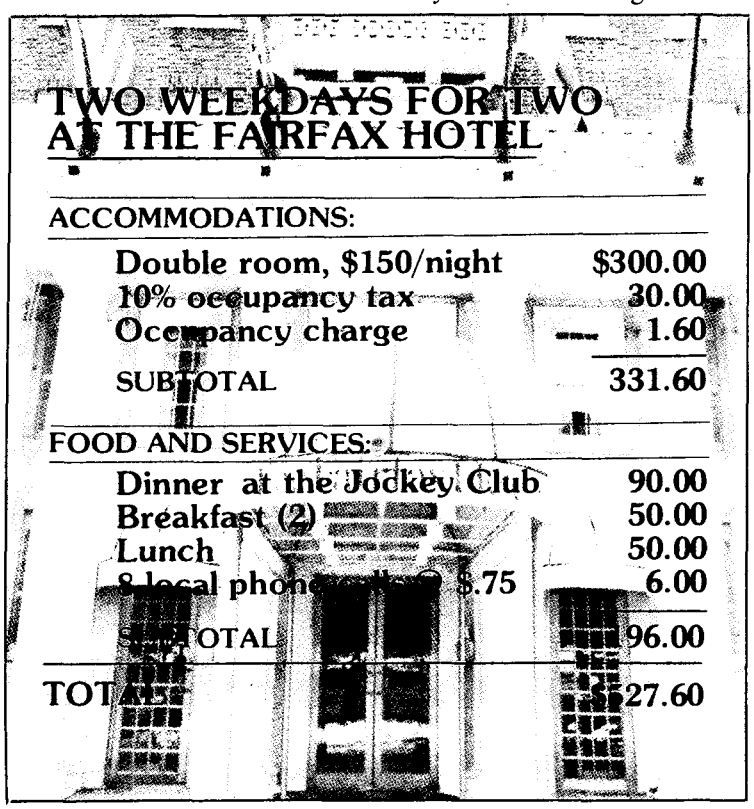
Many firms don't drop in for just a day or two. They take rooms or suites on a long-term lease basis because they find it "economical." One thing these executives seem to require is 24-hour room service. That was a rarity in Washington until recently, but now most luxury hotels offer it. Also much in demand is concierge service. Such expensive extras are, of course, "complimentary" features whose cost is factored into the room rate.

But when the weekend rolls around, the economics of the luxury hotel changes. The businessmen pack up their expense accounts and go home. Luxury hotels must compete for people who are paying their own way. The features that seem like bare essentials of life to executives who can pass the cost along to stockholders, consumers, and taxpayers don't excite the paying customers as much. So, to fill their rooms, most luxury hotels cut prices on weekends. These discounts allow regular folks to sample, at least in part, what they are subsidizing for the soldiers of Fortune 500 during the week.

Besides businessmen, the other large group patronizing Washington's new luxury hotels is foreign travelers. A spokesman for the Preferred Hotels Association noted that one of their member hotels in Washington caters to as many (if not more) foreigners as American citizens. The internationalization of Washington helps account for the rising popularity of luxury hotels. Wealthy foreigners (who generally come here for the same reason as American businessmen—to lobby the government for favors) bring with them their taste for European lavishness. It's no wonder Washington luxury hotels lay claim to "European" flavor. Mosse brought a European air to the Hay-Adams. Narva says the Jefferson's goal is to be the local counterpart of London's Connaught and Paris's Ritz. At the Fairfax, the manager says his hotel is the only "European-style" hotel in Washington. A strong new contender in the luxury field, One Washington Circle, calls itself European. Another new hotel, the Canterbury, claims the same distinction in its advertising.

It is a longstanding elitist belief that only Europeans have the proper attitude about the upper class—its inherent superiority to mere gravediggers and shopkeepers, and its need for obsequious service. It is also a European belief that average people ought to sacrifice to make sure the elite live very well. The new luxury hotels—with their fantastic rates written off corporate taxes or passed along to consumers as higher prices—have that aspect of the European style down pat.

—*Donna Fenn*



TWO WEEKDAYS FOR TWO AT THE FAIRFAX HOTEL

ACCOMMODATIONS:	
Double room, $150/night	$300.00
10% occupancy tax	30.00
Occupancy charge	1.60
SUBTOTAL	331.60
FOOD AND SERVICES:	
Dinner at the Jockey Club	90.00
Breakfast (2)	50.00
Lunch	50.00
8 local phone calls @ $.75	6.00
SUBTOTAL	196.00
TOTAL	527.60

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(continued from page 34)
so let's head over to one last party, this one in the Dupont Circle area:

Hostess: "Come in, come in. I'd like you to meet John Naisbitt, who recently bought 2022 R Street ($324,500). He's a social forecaster and head of the Washington office of Yankelovich, Skelly and White, a consulting firm. They put out *The Trend Report,* which gives corporations information on America's moods.

"Over by our new Andy Warhol is Fred Wegner, who lives at 1724 Q Street ($310,00). He's the legislative representative for the American Association of Retired Persons and the National Retired Teachers Association.

"And that man drinking the shrimp cocktail is . . . "

Jaded by Jade

A lot of the people we met (plus those otherwise engaged) were trade association representatives: Washington is headquarters for 1,700 such outfits. And many of our new friends are consultants, or real estate developers, or Arabs, or jet-setters adding a Washington home to what they've got in New York and Paris. But the majority, as you have no doubt figured out, are members of the legal profession. The new boom is closely related to the astronomical growth in the number of Washington corporate lawyers. For a city that has always had a large share of attorneys, the change in recent years has been nothing short of phenomenal.

Chew on these figures: In 1977, according to the American Bar Association, there were 10,340 attorneys actively practicing in the city. Just three years later, the number had almost *tripled* to 29,994, a growth rate of more than 100 a week.

Of course, many of these lawyers wouldn't know a courtroom from their new solarium. They lobby, or consult, or get out newsletters, or figure out "regulatory impacts." They hone their skills to the point where they are the "person to see" on some small area touched by the government.

Many of these lawyers also have successful spouses. Bernard and Joan Carl, for instance, are both in their early 30s and both came to Washington nine years ago. After clerking for Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall, Bernard Carl moved on to the Justice Department, then HUD, and eventually went into practice with the firm of Williams and Connolly. Joan Carl, meanwhile, worked her way up from buyer to manager at a branch of Garfinckel's department store. As their careers flourished, they moved to successively better homes, recently purchasing one for $550,000 on 31st Street, N.W. At least two of Bernard Carl's contemporaries at Williams and Connolly were also listed recently in Lusk for having purchased homes in the $300,000-and-over category.

Joan Carl is candid about the new Washinton: "New money tends to be less conservative than old money," she says. They want to have symbols of their wealth—expensive cars and houses and things like that. . . . New money is more acquisitive. I think what we're seeing in Washington has a lot to do with that."

Not surprisingly, all that cash changes people's perspectives. One 38-year-old lawyer who recently bought a $370,000 home in Spring Valley told me, "I don't consider 38 young and I don't consider a $370,000 house that expensive."

Running Meters Pay Mortgages

I can hear you say it now. That guy and all the rest like him don't know how much they have to be grateful for. How true that is—though not in the narrow sense you probably thought it. Sure, they have their big incomes and nice homes to be thankful for, but those things are not the source of their good fortune. Their real debt is to the changes in Washington that have made it possible for so many of them to come here and make big money as lawyers or consultants or trade association representatives.

Most of these lawyers have come to Washington to fight the federal government in one way or another, but it is the very size and complexity of the government that allows them to live the new Washington life. They may detest big government, but they depend on it—for the problems they get paid to resolve. "George, I checked things out over at the agency yesterday, and it doesn't look good," the $150-an-hour Washington lawyer tells his corporate client. "But we're on top of it down here, and you've got a good shot at winning on appeal." The thousands of variations on that conversation every day across Washington are what pay for the new luxury homes and what drive the price of downtown restaurants through the roof. That's because the client's appeal, or bill, or case goes on for years.

So the next time you hear a well-heeled Washington lawyer telling you at a cocktail party how much he likes Reagan and how he wishes government would get off the back of business, give him a knowing wink. If the government gets off his client's back, he's in trouble. That new house of his didn't come from nowhere. □

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memo of the month

BEFORE THE
POSTAL RATE COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20268

POSTAL RATE AND FEE CHANGES, 1980 :	Docket No. R80-1

NOTICE TO ALL PARTIES

On April 9, 1981, the Postal Service filed its Brief on Reconsideration to the Commission. We stated therein our understanding that copies had been served on all parties to this docket.

We discovered at noon on April 14 that because of a back-up in the mail room, no copies of our Brief had as yet been mailed out. We regret this failure very much.

Respectfully submitted,

UNITED STATES POSTAL SERVICE

By its attorney:

Frances G. Beck
Assistant General Counsel

475 L'Enfant Plaza West, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20260
April 15, 1981

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PICK OF THE PACS

We've always assumed our readers had a sense of just how dramatically contributions by business political action committees (PACs) have grown in recent elections. But to tell the truth, Common Cause's recently released *Guide to Money, Power and Politics* left us a little shocked. Influence-buying has gone through the roof. Corporate PAC contributions during the 1980 campaign were double those of labor PACs, which reverses the pattern of four years ago. And the business money isn't going just to Republicans. The three members of the Democratic leadership in the House each received a majority of their PAC contributions from business during the 1980 campaign. The largest corporate contributor last year was the American Telephone and Telegraph Company. AT&T's 23 PACs handed out $652,679. The largest PAC recipient now in the Senate is John Tower at $382,992. In the House it is Majority Leader Jim Wright, with $234,180. Our example, Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker, was top-seeded among congressional leaders. He received $341,743, mostly for his 1978 campaign. Read it and gulp.

Agriculture - Total $17,950

American Feed Manufacturers Association	$ 150
American Sugar Cane League of the USA, Inc.	1,300
Associated Milk Producers, Inc.	8,000
Cargill, Inc.	300
Central Soya Company, Inc.	400
Dairymen, Inc.	4,750
Krause Milling Company	100
Mid-America Dairymen, Inc.	1,000
National Broiler Council	100
National Cattlemen's Association	950
National Cotton Council of America	500
National Council Farmer Cooperatives	100
United Fresh Fruit & Vegetables Association	200
United States Beet Sugar Association	100

Business - Total $268,993

Aerospace & Defense	
E-Systems, Inc.	100
General Dynamics Corporation	200
Grumman Corporation	5,000
Hughes Aircraft Company	500
Litton Industries Inc.	450
Lockheed Aircraft Corporation	500
McDonnell Douglas Corporation	500
Northrop Corporation	1,000
United Technologies Corporation	2,200
Vought Corporation (LTV Corporation)	2,000
Automobile	
Automotive Parts & Accessories Association	200
Chrysler Corporation	800

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Ford Motor Company	$ 1,000
General Motors Corporation	1,000
National Automobile Dealers Association	10,000

Chemical

Allied Chemical Corporation	700
American Cyanamid Company	700
Dow Chemical USA	900
Fertilizer Institute	100
Gulf Resources & Chemical Corporation	500
Hercules, Inc.	200
Monsanto Company	1,500
Stauffer Chemical Company	1,000
Union Carbide Corporation	500
Williams Companies	250

Communication

AT&T Company	2,800
Association of American Publishers	100
General Telephone & Electronics Corporation	250
Magazine Publishers Association	200
Meredith Corporation	200
National Association of Broadcasters	1,750
National Cable Television Association	750
National Telephone Cooperative Association	200
R.R. Donnelly & Sons Company	500
Readers Digest Association, Inc.	500
Recording Industry Association of America	500
United Telecommunications, Inc.	100
U.S. Independent Telephone Association	500

Conglomerates

AVCO Corporation	1,000
Eaton Corporation	1,100
IU International Corporation	1,000
Johns-Manville Corporation	200
Pullman Inc.	500
Signal Companies Inc.	500
W. R. Grace and Company	200

Energy & Utilities

American Gas Association	100
American Natural Resources Company	100
American Petroleum Refiners Association	2,400
Ashland Oil Inc.	1,000
Atlantic Richfield Company	955
Cabot Corporation	500
Carolina Power & Light Company	100
Cities Service Company	600
Coastal Corporation	500
Columbia Gas Company	300
Columbia Gas Transmission Corporation	700
Combustion Engineering Inc.	1,000
Consolidated Natural Gas Service Company Inc.	100
Consumers Power Company	250
Emerson Electric Company	500
Getty Oil Company	300
Goldrus Drilling Company	1,000
International Association of Drilling Contractors	2,500
Marathon Oil Company	1,000
Montana Power Company	300
National Association of Water Companies	500
National Coal Association	200
National Council of Coal Lessors, Inc.	300
National Rural Electrification Cooperative	3,000
National Utilities Contractors Association	$ 200
Occidental Petroleum Corporation	1,000
Pacific Lighting Corporation	1,000
Panhandle Eastern Pipeline Company	500
Pennzoil Company	500
St. Joe Minerals Corporation	2,000
Shell Oil Company	700
South Carolina Oil Jobbers Association	350
Southern California Edison Company	300
Southern Natural Resources, Inc.	500
Southwestern Public Service Company	500
Standard Oil Company of California	600
Standard Oil Company of Indiana	1,000
Standard Oil Company of Ohio	200
Sun Company Inc.	1,000
Tenneco Inc.	1,000
Texaco Inc.	1,100
Texas Eastern Gas Transmission Company	100
Union Oil Company of California	1,000
United Energy Resources, Inc.	1,600

Finance

American Bankers Association	5,000
American Collector's Association, Inc.	300
American Express Company	300
American Institute of Certified Public Accountants	250
Associated Credit Bureaus, Inc.	100
Beneficial Management Corporation	500
Chicago Board of Trade	1,000
Chicago Board Options Exchange, Inc.	250
Chicago Mercantile Exchange	1,500
Citicorp	250
E. F. Hutton Group Inc.	500
First Bank System	304
First Tennessee National Corporation	650
Household Finance Corporation	1,000
INA Corporation	100
Independent Bankers Association of America	200
Leader Federal Savings and Loan Association	1,000
Manufacturers Hanover Corporation	250
Morgan Stanley and Company	1,000
Mortgage Bankers Association of America	1,000
National Bank of Commerce	300
National Consumer Finance Association	250
Paine Webber Inc.	600
San Diego Federal Savings and Loan	200
Seattle First National Bank	200
Securities Industry Association	200
Smith, Barney, Harris, Upham and Company	500
Third National Corporation	500
Union Planters Corporation	1,000
U.S. League of Savings Associations	2,100

Food and Restaurant

American Bakers Association	500
American Meat Institute	100
Brown-Forman Distillers Corporation	100
Coca-Cola Company	1,450
Conagra Inc.	100
Dr. Pepper Company	300
Flowers Industries, Inc.	500
Food Marketing Institute	1,250
Food Operators Political Action Trust	200
General Mills, Inc.	250
Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Company, Inc.	200

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Sen. Howard Baker (continued)

Jos. Schlitz Brewing Company	$ 1,000
Kellogg Company	250
Kraft Inc.	1,000
Kroger Company	300
Malone and Hyde Inc.	5,000
McCormick and Company Inc.	200
McDonald's Corporation	1,000
Nabisco Inc.	500
National Association of Retail Grocers of U.S.	100
National Canners Association	100
National Confectioners Association	1,000
National Restaurant Association	1,000
Pepsico, Inc.	500
Pillsbury Company	2,550
Winn-Dixie Stores Inc.	2,250

Forest & Paper Products

Alton Box Board Company	100
Boise Cascade Corporation	800
Crown Zellerbach Corporation	500
Georgia-Pacific Corporation	1,500
Inland Container Corporation	500
International Paper Company	9,400
Kimberly-Clark Corporation	350
Mead Land Services, Inc.	885
National Forest Products Association	300
Temple Eastex Inc. (Time, Inc.)	200
Union Camp Corporation	1,000
Westvaco Corporation	1,500
Weyerhaeuser Company	3,000

General Business

American Society of Association Executives	900
Business Industry Political Action Committee	1,000
Public Service Research Council	200

Insurance

Allstate Insurance Co. (Sears Roebuck & Company)	500
American Family Corporation	4,000
American International Group Inc.	1,000
General Agents Association	500
Independent Insurance Agents of America	1,400
Insurance Public Affairs Council	3,500
Kemper Insurance Companies	100
National Association of Casualty and Surety Agents	500
National Association of Independent Insurers	200
National Association of Life Underwriters	3,500
National Association of Mutual Insurance Agents	1,000
Nationwide Corporation	500
NLT Corporation	5,000

Machinery & Tools

Cooper Industries Inc.	1,000
FMC Corporation	1,000
International Harvester Corporation	750
Machinery Dealers National Association	600
National Machine Tool Builders Association	1,100
PACCAR Inc.	200
Tool, Die and Precision Machining Association	1,200
Wheelabrator-Frye Inc.	1,000

Manufacturing

American Apparel Manufacturers Association	1,200
American Can Company	750
American Standard Inc.	500
American Textile Manufacturers Association	1,700
Ball Corporation	$ 300
Bendix Corporation	500
Blue Bell Inc.	600
Brockway Glass Company Inc.	500
Broyhill Furniture Company	2,000
Burlington Industries Inc.	500
Celanese Corporation	500
Clorox Company	200
Colt Industries Inc.	450
Collins and Aikman Corporation	500
Dart Industries Inc.	2,000
Dresser Industries, Inc.	800
E.G. & G., Inc.	1,000
General Aviation Manufacturers Association	300
General Electric Company	1,750
Goodyear Tire & Rubber Company	500
Gould Inc.	200
Johnson and Johnson	100
J. P. Stevens and Company, Inc.	1,600
Libby-Owens-Ford Company	400
Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing Company	300
NL Industries, Inc.	500
Olin Corporation	1,100
Owens-Illinois Inc.	750
PPG Industries Inc.	500
Raytheon Company	1,000
Rexnord, Inc.	100
Southern Furniture Manufacturers Association	2,000
Springs Mills, Inc.	200
Stewart-Warner Corporation	500
Texas Instruments Inc.	750
TRW Inc.	700
Washington Industries Inc.	1,500
Westinghouse Electric Corporation	3,000

Metals & Metal Mining

Aluminum Association	200
Aluminum Company of America	5,000
Amax Inc.	1,000
Asarco Inc.	500
Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company	600
Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corporation	700
Kennecott Copper Corporation	1,250
National Limestone Institute Inc.	100
Utah International Inc. (General Electric Company)	100

Miscellaneous Businesses

American Hotel Motel Association	2,000
Direct Selling Association	100
Holiday Inns Inc.	1,000
J. G. Boswell Company	1,000
Kellwood Company	1,500
Outdoor Advertising Association of America	100
Shipbuilders Council of America	200
Sperry & Hutchinson Company	500

Pharmaceutical

Abbot Laboratories	1,000
Bristol-Myers Company	200
Eli Lilly and Company	500
Hoffmann-LaRoche, Inc.	200
Pfizer Inc.	2,500
Richardson-Merrell Inc.	200
SmithKline Corporation	200
Squibb Corporation	500

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Real Estate & Construction

Associated Builders & Contractors	$ 400
Associated General Contractors of America	600
Babcock & Wilcox Company	600
Dravo Corporation	600
National Association of Realtors	9,600
National Realty Committee	1,000
National Association of Home Builders	300
Raymond International, Inc.	3,000
Sheet Metal & Air Conditioning Contractors Association	400
Stone & Webster Inc.	500

Retail

Carter-Hawley Stores Inc.	750
Federated Department Stores Inc.	500
J. C. Penney Company Inc.	500
K Mart Corporation	500
Menswear Retailers of America	100
Montgomery Ward & Company Inc. (Mobil Corporation)	199
National Association of Chain Drug Stores	250
National Association of Retail Drugs	100
National Retail Merchants Association	300
Retail Jewelers of America, Inc.	150
Sears Roebuck & Company	600
Zale Corporation	250

Steel

Allegheny Ludlum Industries, Inc.	300
Bethlehem Steel Corporation	200
Interlake, Inc.	500
Republic Steel Corporation	3,000
United States Steel Corporation	300

Tobacco

Phillip Morris Inc.	500
R. J. Reynolds Industries Inc.	1,000
Tobacco Institute Inc.	1,200

Transportation

Allegheny Airlines Inc.	100
American Cotton Shippers Association	500
American Trucking Associations Inc.	3,100
Burlington Northern Inc.	400
Delta Air Lines, Inc.	200
Eastern Airlines, Inc.	1,200
Family Line Systems	300
Federal Express Corporation	2,150
Greyhound Corporation	1,000
Lykes Brothers Steamship Company (LTV Corporation)	1,000
Pan American World Airways	650
Ryder Truck Lines Inc.	500
Southern Pacific Transportation Company	500
Southern Railway Company	1,100
St. Louis - San Francisco Railway Company	200
Tiger International Inc.	500
Union Pacific Corporation	500
United Parcel Service of America	300
United Air Lines, Inc.	1,500
Western Air Lines Inc.	500

Health - Total $31,400

American Association of Oral & Maxillofacial Surgeons	5,000
American Dental Association	5,000
American Federation of Hospitals	3,000
American Group Practice Association	1,000
American Health Care Association	$ 100
American Medical Association	15,000
American Nurses' Association	600
American Occupational Therapy Association	300
American Optometric Association, Inc.	1,300
Humana, Inc.	100

Non-connected Organizations - Total $3,800

American Tax Reduction Movement	100
National Bipartisan Political Action Committee	500
National Rifle Association of America	2,200
Taxpayers for Better Government	1,000

Labor - Total $11,550

Communications Workers of America	250
International Airline Pilots Association	5,000
International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers	200
International Brotherhood of Teamsters	500
Marine Engineers Beneficial Association	2,500
National Alliance of Postal & Federal Employees	200
National Education Association	2,400
National Rural Letter Carriers Association	400
Postal Workers Union	100

Miscellaneous - Total $200

National Association of Uniformed Services	200

Professional - Total $7,850

Akin, Gump, Hauer & Feld	500
American Consulting Engineers Council	250
Arthur Young & Company	500
Association for the Advancement of Psychology	100
Association of Trial Lawyers of America	5,000
Burns & Roe Inc.	100
Professionals Political Action Council	200
Schnader, Harrison, Segal & Lewis	200
Vinson, Elkins, Searls, Connally & Smith	1,000

Total PAC Contributions to Sen. Howard Baker $341,743

Honoraria
Jan. 1, 1979 — Dec. 31, 1979

Source	Amount or Value (Net)
Abbott Laboratories	$ 1,500†
American Mining Congress	1,000
Beloit Corporation	2,000
CBS, Inc.	1,000
Fay Improvement Company	1,000
Food Marketing Institute	2,000†
Grocery Manufacturers of America	2,000
Independent Bakers Association	1,000
Magazine Publishers Association, Inc.	1,000
Man-Made Fiber Producers Association, Inc.	1,000
National Association of Realtors	1,000
National Limestone Institute	1,000
New York Stock Exchange	2,000
Norton Simon, Inc.	2,000
Organization Management, Inc.	1,000
Photo Marketing Association International	2,000
Securities Industry Association, Inc.	1,000
Third National Bank	2,000
Wertheim & Company, Inc.	1,000

Total Honoraria $26,500

† Honoraria donated to charity

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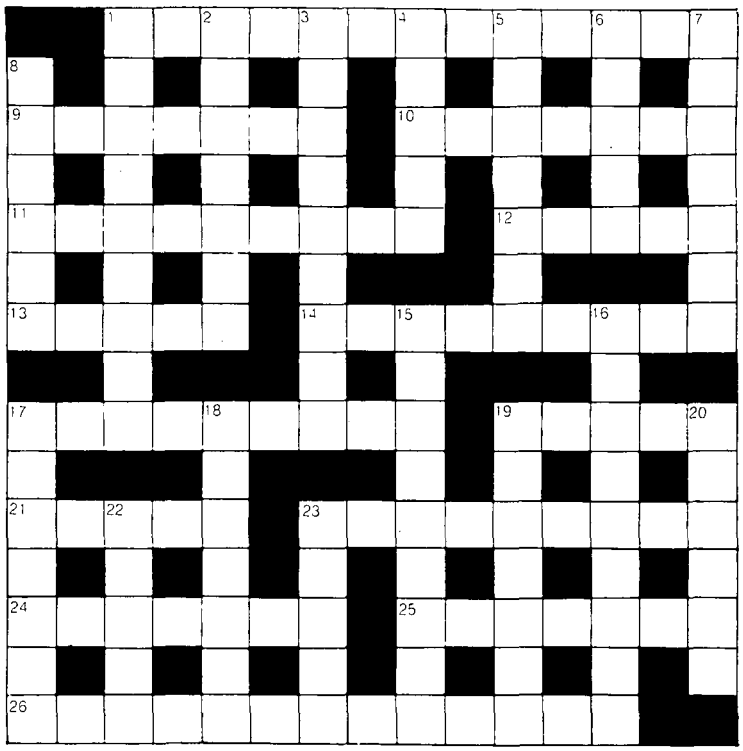
the political puzzle

by John Barclay

The numbers indicate the number of letters and words, e.g., (2,3) means a two-letter word followed by a three-letter word. Groups of letters, e.g., USA, are treated as one word.



ACROSS

1. Slogan can make one rule burn us up. (1,8,4)
9. Turns stator around going in one direction. (7)
10. A thousand in the aisles wandering without purpose. (7)
11. Complete agreement preserved if main parts removed? (9)
12. Straighten sheet for matters at hand. (5)
13. Needed for la plume de ma tante? (5)
14. Help blast letter collections in pieces. (9)
17. Sis stared, shook up, as bad news mounted. (9)
19. One of 17 Across displayed of old. (5)
21. Country discovered by Ali wandering. (5)
23. Bosses managed prior uses. (9)
24. Voyage went first and got almost home. (7)
25. Counting without hesitation is dull. (7)
26. Norm detonated crazy slogan. (4,5,2,2)

Answers to last month's puzzle:

DOWN

1. Door's charms? (9)
2. Framework in the French garret. (7)
3. To leave town do trick in messy attic. (9)
4. Patriotic organization shows up in by shooting victim. (5)
5. Traumas disturbed island. (7)
6. Brother's brat named in Annie ceremony. (5)
7. Johnson's partner succeeds. (7)
8. Complain about nothing in wild surge. (6)
15. Shifted dope pots North and moved back. (9)
16. To survive budget cut, get mice ozone somehow. (9)
17. Censored rent indeed. (7)
18. Drunk in the passage a vegetable? Just the reverse! (7)
19. No frame arranged for boss. (7)
20. Singed strangely—no accident! (6)
22. Child of Rabin mixed up. (5)
23. Move up with 50 inside. (5)

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ILLUSTRATION BY PAT MORRISON

It's mid-morning on a weekday at an American public school. Time for math class, or English. Maybe even time for a little learning. Odds are, though, that somewhere in the U.S. one group will be playing hooky, and it won't necessarily be students. Bearing placards like "Teachers Care—Do You?" and "We Teach Your Children," Miss McGillicuddy, Mr. Kotter, Coach Reeves and all the rest might well be out on the picket line, showing their students just whom they care about most.

In April of this year, the longest American teachers' strike ever came to an end in Ravenna, Ohio. For five long months, striking teachers threatened "scab" substitutes, harassed a bank that had lent money to the under-funded school district, and forced children to cross picket lines to get into school each morning. But even when strikes are shorter and less bitter, they don't tend to do much for claims that what's good for teachers unions is good for education. The fact is, America's public schools are becoming dominated by the two major national teachers unions, the National Education Association (NEA) and the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), and their local affiliates. Their frequent striking (242 last year alone) and vigorous lobbying have given them a large chunk of control over local, state, and national education policy, and their influence is growing every year.

American public schools contain some remarkably dedicated and talented teachers, but too many of the others are behaving like Teamsters. In the last 15 years, their militant demands—more pay, less work, more job security, less accountability—have helped change teaching from a low-paying but honorable profession into just another looking-out-for-number-one kind of job.

Of course if gains by unions actually improved the quality of teaching, as the unions claim, all the agitation wouldn't be so bad. But as it turned out, the same years that saw the triumph of teachers unions also were marked by a virtual collapse of public schools: student performance plummeted, academic standards declined, literacy eroded. That doesn't mean our current woes all can be laid at the door of the unions. There are lots of other culprits, like low-quality

James Bovard is a Washington writer.

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How Teachers Teach Selfishness

by James Bovard

teachers colleges, unconcerned parents, incompetent administrators, petty-minded school boards, and, as the unions like to put it, "society at large." But it's clear that for the most part, unions are to education what fingernails are to a blackboard.

If you had a little trouble comprehending that last SAT-style analogy, don't worry. You've got lots of company: the teachers. For every bright, inspiring teacher who makes a difference in a student's life there has always been a large number of dunces, but in recent years the situation has reached crisis proportions. ("We are striking for descent wages," read one strike placard in New Orleans recently.) SAT scores for college high school seniors who want to be teachers are a pathetic 418 math and 389 verbal—both 40 to 50 points *below* the paltry national average. Even if many of those Einsteins don't actually end up teaching, such figures have to tell you something about what's happening in that profession.

As you can probably guess, teachers unions don't like standardized tests—for their members or for students. Part of that stems from a legitimate worry about the capriciousness of testing, but it has much more to do with an unwillingness to be held accountable for their failures. That fear of accountability—now so much a part of the mentality of teachers unions—is almost as damaging as the simple selfishness reflected by the unceasing demand for more and more outlandish contract concessions. Together they are helping dig the grave of public education.

There was a time when almost all teachers were grossly underpaid. Now, many get about what they deserve, and strapped localities aren't usually in much of a position to help those who don't. To compensate for the inability of taxpayers to pay high wages, school boards have traditionally offered all sorts of other goodies, including a three-month summer vacation, two weeks off at Christmas, and ten days or so for spring vacation. Teachers have also benefited from the original flexi-time—most have the option of staying for an hour or two after school to grade homework (if indeed they assign it), or to leave at 3:15 and get their work done after dinner in the comfort of their own homes. Overall, the fringe benefits—including the almost uniformly generous pension systems—are nothing to scoff at.

But try telling that to the unions, who continually urge school boards to compare teachers' salaries (average: $16,000 a year) with salaries of people who work a full 12 months. Regardless of how bad teachers' salaries are, the fringe benefits make that an unfair comparison. As long as school districts remain poor, teaching will simply have to remain a profession that attracts people who prefer long vacations to higher pay. The unions can't do much to change that.

But don't bet against their willingness to give it a try. Right now, for instance, some local unions are pushing to obtain unemployment compensation for teachers during the summer. At the national level, their power is clear. The NEA is the largest public employees' organization in the country, with 1.8 million members, and the second largest union (behind the two-million-member Teamsters). The AFT has more than 570,000 members and is growing at the fastest rate of any union in the U.S.

Politically, the NEA in particular is a formidable force. Although teacher support for Carter didn't help enough last November (the kids didn't take the message home to mom and dad), it was pivotal in his 1976 election and again during the nomination fight against Kennedy last year. The NEA was by far the most powerful

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organization at the 1980 Democratic National Convention, with 307 delegates—one out of every seven Carter delegates, and more than the entire California delegation. With an average of 4,000 members in each congressional district, the NEA is one of the best dispersed and most effective political organizations in the country.

That became especially clear a couple of years ago during the debate over the creation of a new Department of Education. The conservatives opposed it, the AFL-CIO opposed it, *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* opposed it; in fact, nobody except the NEA seemed to think it was necessary. But having extracted a

> *Unions are to education what fingernails are to a blackboard.*

promise of a new department from Carter in 1976, the educators had sufficient clout to hold him to his word and drive the bill through Congress. It was, wrote columnist Richard Reeves, "the biggest political payoff in American history." One NEA staff member boasted to *Newsweek* that "we're the only union with our own Cabinet department." The clout paid off. In the four years of Carter's administration, federal education funding increased by 73 percent—a record.

Some federal aid to education may be worthwhile, of course. But don't be fooled into thinking that the unions' pressure for increased federal per capita student spending has much to do with education. Striking for smaller class size occasionally can be justified in the interest of the kids, but studies have failed to show much correlation between class size and student achievement. According to Frank Armbruster in *Our Children's Crippled Future,* the average ratio of pupils to teachers has declined sharply in the last 30 years. The average per-pupil expenditure in *constant dollars* has tripled since 1950, while the percentage of GNP spent on education has doubled, from four percent to eight percent. It doesn't take much to figure out that these increased expenditures haven't exactly corresponded to improvements in how much students actually learn in the classroom.

So who is to blame? The NEA is the leading advocate of "no-fault" teaching—whatever happens, don't blame the teacher. Over the objection of the vast majority of the public polled on the subject, the NEA opposes all teacher certification tests. The AFT, meanwhile, approves their use for hiring teachers, but strongly opposes their use for promotion, evaluation, or tenure decisions. At the NEA, officials assert that tests for teachers are unfair to those who might fail after spending a lot of time and money going to teachers college. This is like saying it doesn't matter whether an aspiring doctor knows enough about medicine to pass his certification exams as long as he has been to med school. It points up the worst side of American credentialism, which stresses where you've been educated—and for how long—rather than what you know. One reason private schools are often better than public ones is that private schools care whether their teachers know anything about their subjects and can teach, while public schools are content to ask whether their teachers have a diploma from a teachers college. If someone with a B.A. in math can pass a certification test showing he knows math and can prove in trial teaching that he knows how to teach, why does he need a meaningless piece of paper? The NEA not only insists that he have that piece of paper, it insists that he not be tested to see if the paper signifies anything.

The almost total lack of teacher accountability is the central problem of contemporary public education. The teachers unions talk as if once teachers serve two or three years and get tenure, they are entitled to a job—regardless of performance—for the rest of their lives. Rejecting that logic doesn't mean you reject the idea of job security altogether—teachers should not, for instance, be fired for their politics. But as the system now exists, tenured teachers have little or no incentive to do a good job. A dedicated few take it on themselves to do a good job anyway, but the unions are striving mightily to protect those who don't. The unions oppose not only sticks, but carrots. The 1980 NEA convention continually denounced any "merit pay" or "performance contracting" ideas, insisting that all teachers should get uniform raises solely according to the number of years spent teaching.

It is here that the natural and otherwise legitimate values of unionism (that is, equal wages for equal work) tend to be inimical to education. When faced with the sobering fact that quality control is a little more important in this industry than in others, the unions respond by demanding "self-governance" first, and accountability later. By self-governance, the

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NEA means controlling teacher licensure, continuing education, and professional standards as the ABA or AMA does. Last year's NEA convention resolved to develop a strategy "to see that classroom teachers attain at least majority participation in the governance and review bodies of regional accreditation agencies."

None of this leaves much room for one group with a certain stake in public education: parents and their representatives on the school board. You don't have to be a big defender of school boards to regret how far the unions have gone in creating a maze of legal barriers and due process avenues that have made it virtually impossible for school boards to take action against incompetent or lazy teachers. It's bad enough that the federal government can't fire incompetent or lazy bureaucrats, but at least in the government those characteristics aren't quite as contagious as they are in the classroom. Wasting money or office space is less serious than wasting young minds. With thousands of potentially good teachers out of work, parents should not have to sit back and let the unions decide "who enters, who stays and who leaves the [teaching] profession," which is the way former NEA president George Fischer described that group's goal in 1970.

The NEA is the leading advocate of "no-fault" teaching—whatever happens, don't blame the teacher.

The principal area of disagreement between parents and teachers in many communities revolves around the so-called back-to-basics movement, which parents support overwhelmingly, according to polls. Many union locals oppose the movement, and they take their cue from the national organizations.

One recent NEA publication denounced back-to-basics as "irrelevant and reactionary." Another stressed that the movement was orchestrated by the "neo-conservative New Right, a mixture of taxpayer groups, fundamentalists, and a few unreconstructed racists. . . ." The publication denounced minimum competency testing for students because it has "sacrificed children who are black and poor on the altar of accountability."

This last comment represents an important element of union strategy—appeal to the poor and minorities and to the liberals who care about them. But the victims are catching on. "For many black and Puerto Rican parents, the teachers unions now represent the 'enemy,'" Mario Fantini argues in *What's Best for the Children.* Liberal columnist William Raspberry has shown strong support for former Washington, D.C., school superintendent (now assistant secretary of education) Vincent Reed's plan to put an end to automatic grade promotions. So did many D.C. parents, who lamented his departure. Jesse Jackson may be an ineffective showboat, but his views on schooling are popular with many black parents. He wonders about "the right to strike for more money when the employer—a taxpaying parent—holds tax receipts in one hand and test results in the other that prove he's paying more and more for less and less."

Duty-Free Lunch

The NEA may think that poor blacks who buy the back-to-basics line are just dupes of the reactionaries and racists, but in truth many black parents have simply come to understand that a return to more fundamental educational values is their children's only real ticket out of the ghetto. Right now, few public school parents—rich or poor—have much to cheer about. Paul Copperman reports in *The Literacy Hoax* that "the average student is assigned 50 percent less reading and writing than in the early 1960s. . . . The standard writing assignment in the early 1960s was one logically organized composition a week. By the early 1970s, it was one creative paper, due at intermittent intervals, which would not be criticized." One study suggests average homework assignments have been cut in half in the last 20 years. Reading levels, as everyone knows, often don't advance much beyond comic-book standards, if that.

Sure, public school when you were a kid probably wasn't so great either. It was often boring and petty. But even if all the science and English and history you somehow muddled through was poorly taught, a little of it had to rub off on you by osmosis. Many of today's students can't expect even that. By the time they finish gym and shop and "death education" (a current NEA favorite), the average time spent studying traditional subjects in high school is about two and a half hours a day. *Two and a half hours.*

(continued)

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Blame for this should be shared by administrators and school board members, but it is the teachers unions that have pushed especially hard for "relevant" curricula. In recent years they often have prevailed during struggles with school boards over curriculum improvements, teaching techniques, textbooks, and general educational goals and philosophy. Legitimate attempts by parents to influence what their children are taught are sometimes denounced as "censorship." And a number of union contracts around the country strictly limit the number of times a year teachers must meet with parents. In Washington, D.C., no more than three meetings a year are required.

> One union told teachers not to sit with their students at lunch.

This is a side of public school life that isn't reported much in the press because it's so commonplace. When the parents go overboard—demanding, say, that books be banned—*that* ends up in the papers, and rightfully so. But when parents just want a little more involvement in what goes on in the classroom, the unions usually have been able to prevent it without anybody paying much attention.

When they do get a measure of control over curriculum, the unions aren't usually bashful about using it for their own ends. The AFT has called for "a campaign to incorporate labor education at all levels of the American educational system." The Dade County, Florida, AFT affiliate, for one, has taken that to heart. It's hard to believe, but the United Teachers of Dade sent out a bulletin a couple of years ago urging music teachers to "order music such as 'Solidarity Forever,'" English teachers to "incorporate short stories, novels, poems, plays, and films depicting labor struggles and conflicts," and math teachers to "use labor and management as specific examples in problems." Another section of the bulletin explained that a new contract provides a "duty-free" lunch period. "Teachers who feel compelled to sit with their students during lunch, i.e., primary, elementary teachers and exceptional education teachers, are doing a disservice to their fellow teachers. By volunteering to sit with your students and possibly receive 30 minutes' compensatory time later, you are 1) diminishing the effect and intent of the contract between UTD and DCPS and 2) are being used and manipulated by the school administration who should see to it that your class is being cared for during lunch."

Naturally, that kind of thinking doesn't apply in every local union, but many locals have negotiated for at least some of these kinds of rules. Teachers unions can't exist just to push for wage hikes; they have to figure out all sorts of other points to negotiate or they wouldn't have much reason for being. For every real safety violation or unfair practice the unions help eliminate, there are lots of other contract items that have nothing to do with safety or fairness or education. What they do have to do with is selfishness.

Selfishness, like other values, can breed remarkably fast when it reaches the classroom. School, we all know, has a lot to do with values. Sometimes teachers transmit values to students not through positive action—teaching—but just by setting the boundaries of adult behavior. The kids might hate school and all of their teachers, but they nonetheless take away some idea of what is legitimate and what isn't, of what matters in life and what doesn't. Given the amount of time children spend in school, that is inevitable; and given the malleability of most school-age kids, it is the kind of opportunity that has traditionally drawn committed and idealistic men and women to teaching.

That's why the selfishness and abandonment of duty reflected by so many teachers union demands is even more disheartening than the selfishness that shows up in so much of the rest of society. It proliferates in the classroom. Actions speak louder than lectures, even if class is on "value-endowment training" or some such newfangled subject—and kids naturally learn to do as their teachers do, not as they say. The values children absorb from strikes at their schools and missed school days aren't so hard to figure out. Students see emphasis placed on money, leisure, and insulation from the judgment of others. In scattered cases, they see encouragement of violence. In most cases, they realize that despite what they're told, their teachers' first concern may not be teaching at all. For kids, then, all of this represents a cruel introduction to the world of selfishness; for teachers, it represents a cruel concession to that world; and for public education, it has come to represent a repudiation of some of its nobler ideals. □

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WHO'S WHO in the Administration

With four months' perspective on the new administration, it's getting easier to separate important players from staff chaff. One of those White House aides who fall into the latter category right now is **Martin Anderson,** by title the Assistant to the President for Policy Development. With all the policy changes afoot under Reagan, it was expected that Anderson, a well-regarded conservative intellectual, would call some shots on domestic policy. But it hasn't turned out that way. He has considerably less influence than his predecessor in that job, Stuart Eizenstat. The best sign of Anderson's freeze-out is that he has little contact with OMB. An activist domestic policy director would be in constant touch. Anderson's wife, Annelise, has a high-level job at OMB, but that hasn't helped matters. She is considered the weakest link in **David Stockman**'s lineup. . . .

A more subtle reason that Anderson might have less power than expected is that the Reagan crowd has changed the normal formulation of domestic policy. Traditionally, an administration sets policy goals, then OMB cuts or increases the budget to conform to the policy. But in this administration, with the budget-cutting mania on, policy has become a product of the cuts instead of the other way around. That helps explain why the powerful triumvirate of **Meese, Baker,** and **Deaver,** while phenomenally successful in bringing a disciplined approach to the administration's program, has not been much involved in policy *initiation.* Neither has Anderson. On policy, Stockman's the man, and he's getting the credit. This may eventually alienate Meese and Baker. . . .

Another power within the administration who has staked out an activist role on policy formation is Secretary of the Interior **James Watt.** That has been widely reported. But the press has missed the fact that Watt is now virtually in charge of *two* federal agencies, the other being the Environmental Protection Agency. Since her appointment, **Anne Gorsuch,** Reagan's nominee for EPA administrator, has worked out of Watt's office, and lived temporarily in his Washington-area house. Worse, according to EPA sources, Gorsuch has agreed to let Watt interview and approve all high-level EPA appointments. . . .

Another agency under assault is the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH), which falls under the Department of Health and Human Services. HHS Secretary **Richard Schweiker** fired NIOSH director **Anthony Robbins** in March—four days after an article appeared in a Chamber of Commerce publication charging Robbins with being a "social activist" with a "radical anti-business posture." Robbins, who is well respected in the health field, was also relieved of his duties as assistant surgeon general, an action taken previously only in cases of gross misconduct. . . .

The good news for those who were worried about the administration totally unleashing the CIA is that it probably won't. The director, **William Casey,** may be a little confused—the joke is he's developed elaborate plans to drop agents behind enemy lines to help the French resistance—but some of his appointments have been solid. Deputy director **B. R. Inman** hinted that he would resign if a proposal to allow domestic spying went through (it didn't). And the new general counsel, **Stanley Sporkin,** won high marks as a dogged director of enforcement at the Securities and Exchange Commission. When Nixon administration officials wanted him to pull back from an investigation of Maurice Stans's links to Robert Vesco, he refused. There's reason to hope he'll do the same should he encounter any CIA charter-busters. . . .

Speaking of Maurice Stans, his name, once floated for ambassador to Sweden, seems to have submerged again. . . .

In

WHITE HOUSE

Executive Associate Director, Office of Management and Budget—**Glenn R. Schleede** has been senior vice-president of the National Coal Association.

Associate Director, Office of Management and Budget—**Frederick N. Khedouri** served as legislative director to Representative David Stockman.

Associate Director, Office of Management and Budget—**Donald W. Moran** was a legislative assistant to Representative David Stockman, specializing in federal health policy and budget matters.

Associate Director, Office of Management and Budget—**William Schneider, Jr.,** has served on the minority staff of the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Defense.

Associate Director, Office of Management and Budget—**Harold I. Steinberg** was a partner at Peat, Marwick, Mitchell and Co., an accounting firm.

Staff Director, National Security Council—**Allen J. Lenz** is a former chief of the Commerce Department's East-West Policy and Planning Office.

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Director, Political Affairs, National Security Council—**James R. Lilley** has been a consultant for United Technologies and before that served for 27 years with the CIA.

Deputy Assistant to the President for Intergovernmental Affairs—**Alan F. Holmer** was administrative assistant to Senator Bob Packwood (R-Ore.).

Special Assistant to the President for Intergovernmental Affairs—**J. Steven Rhodes** is a former director of government and public affairs for Dart Industries Inc.

Special Assistant to the President for Intergovernmental Affairs—**James M. Medas** was Chief of Staff for the California state senate minority leader.

Special Assistant to the President for Planning and Evaluation—**Richard S. Beal** has been a political science professor at Brigham Young University.

Deputy Assistant to the President for Public Liaison—**Red Cavaney** was president of Ericson Yachts, Inc., a California yacht company.

Deputy Director, Office of Public Liaison—**Diana Lozano** has been a marketing representative with IBM Corporation.

Special Assistant to the President for Public Liaison, Arts—**Aram Bakshian, Jr.,** was an aide to Presidents Nixon and Ford.

Special Assistant to the President for Public Liaison—**Morton C. Blackwell** has been chairman of the Committee for Responsible Youth Politics.

Special Assistant to the President for Public Liaison—**Robert F. Bonitati** was public affairs director for the Air Line Pilots Association.

Special Assistant to the President for Public Liaison—**Jack Burgess** is a former Peace Corps country director in Micronesia and an assistant dean at the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service.

Special Assistant to the President for Public Liaison—**Wayne H. Valis** was with the American Enterprise Institute.

Deputy Director, Office of Consumer Affairs—**Ernest E. Garcia** is a former aide to Senator Robert Dole.

Deputy Director, Office of Policy Development—**Ronald B. Frankum** was director of the Center for Technical Services, a San Diego think tank.

Chairman, Council on Environmental Quality—**A. Alan Hill** has been president of Hill Building Specialties, Inc. of San Francisco.

Member and Vice Chairman, President's Export Council—**Anna C. Chennault** has been active in support of Nationalist Chinese and Republican causes.

AGRICULTURE

Administrator, Rural Electrification Administration—**Harold V. Hunter** is a rancher from Oklahoma.

Administrator, Federal Grain Inspection Service—**Kenneth A. Gilles** was vice-president for agricultural affairs at North Dakota State University.

COMMERCE

Assistant Secretary for Communications and Information—**Bernard J. Wunder, Jr.,** was associate minority counsel for the House Energy and Commerce Committee.

Inspector General—**Sherman Maxwell Funk** helped set up the federal minority business program during the Nixon administration.

Administrator, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration—**John V. Byrne** was vice-president of Oregon State University and before that had been program director for physical oceanography at the National Science Foundation.

DEFENSE

Assistant Secretary of the Army for Installation, Logistics and Financial Management—**Joel Bonner** has been a Senate Appropriations Committee staff member specializing in defense appropriations.

Assistant Secretary of the Air Force for Manpower, Reserve Affairs and Installations—**Tidal W. McCoy** was the national security affairs assistant to Senator Jake Garn (R-Utah).

Assistant Secretary of the Army for Civil Works—**William R. Gianelli** is a civil engineer from California and former chairman of the Monterey Peninsula Water Management District.

Assistant Secretary of the Air Force for Financial Management—**Russell D. Hale** has been on the staff of the House Armed Services Committee.

EDUCATION

Assistant Secretary for Postsecondary Education—**Thomas Patrick Melady,** a former ambassador to Burundi and Uganda, most recently served as president of Sacred Heart University.

Assistant Secretary for Educational Research and Improvement—**Donald J. Senese** was chief legislative assistant to Representative William Archer of Texas.

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Assistant Secretary, Special Education and Rehabilitative Services—**Jean Tufts** was president of the National School Boards Association.

Assistant Secretary for Vocational and Adult Education—**Robert Melvin Worthington** was associate commissioner of higher education for the Utah State Board of Regents.

Commissioner, Rehabilitation Services Administration—**George A. Conn** has been national research director with the Paralyzed Veterans of America.

ENERGY

Assistant Secretary for Defense Programs—**Herman E. Roser** has been manager of the Energy Department's Albuquerque Operations Office.

Chairman, Federal Energy Regulatory Commission—**C. Michael Butler III** has been an aide to Senator John Tower (R-Tex.) and before that was a senior attorney with American Natural Resources Co. of Detroit.

Director, Alcohol Fuels—**James Stearns** was secretary of California's Agriculture and Service Agency under Governor Reagan.

Administrator, Energy Information Administration—**J. Erich Evered** was a geologist and petroleum engineer with the CER Corporation of Las Vegas.

HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Assistant Secretary for Administration—**Judith L. Tardy** was director of administrative programs and services in the Department of Labor under President Carter.

Assistant Secretary, Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity—**Antonio Monroig** was administrator of the Municipal Services Administration of the Puerto Rican government.

HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES

Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs—**Pamela Needham Bailey** was director of government relations for American Hospital Supply Corporation.

Commissioner, Food and Drug Administration—**Arthur H. Hayes, Jr.,** has been a professor of pharmacology at Pennsylvania State University.

General Counsel—**Juan A. del Real** was an assistant general counsel for the Health Care Financing Administration and the Medicare and Medicaid programs.

Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation—**Robert J. Rubin** has been a consultant to the Senate Human Resources Committee.

INTERIOR

Assistant Secretary for Land and Water Resources—**Garrey E. Caruthers** has been a professor of agricultural economics and business at New Mexico State University.

Assistant Secretary for Energy and Minerals—**Daniel N. Miller** was Wyoming's state geologist.

Assistant Secretary for Indian Affairs—**Kenneth L. Smith** was general manager of the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs, Oregon.

LABOR

Assistant Secretary for Labor-Management Relations—**Donald L. Dotson** was chief labor counsel to Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel and before that served as an attorney to the National Labor Relations Board during the Nixon administration.

STATE

Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs—**Thomas O. Enders,** a career diplomat, has served as assistant secretary for economic affairs under Presidents Nixon and Ford.

Ambassador to Mexico—**John Gavin** is a former president of the Screen Actors Guild.

Ambassador to El Salvador—**Deane R. Hinton** was assistant secretary of state for economic and business affairs and before that U.S. representative to the European Common Market and ambassador to Zaire.

Ambassador to Saudi Arabia—**Robert G. Neumann** is a former ambassador to Afghanistan and Morocco.

Deputy U.S. Trade Representative—**David R. MacDonald** is a former undersecretary of the navy.

TRANSPORTATION

Director of Public Affairs—**Linda Gosden** was deputy press secretary of the Reagan campaign, and before that press secretary for the Republican National Committee.

Inspector General—**Joseph P. Welsch** was finance vice-president of the United States Railway Association.

TREASURY

Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs—**Ann Dore McLaughlin** was a director of communications in the 1972 Nixon presidential campaign.

Director, Bureau of the Mint—**Donna Pope** was minority whip of the Ohio House of Representatives.

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AGENCIES AND COMMISSIONS

ACTION
Deputy Director—**Winifred Ann Pizzano** was an administrator in the health care field at Arthur Young and Co., an accounting firm.

Associate Director for Domestic and Anti-Poverty Operations—**Lawrence F. Davenport** is a former vice-president of the Tuskegee Institute.

Arms Control and Disarmament Agency
Director—**Eugene V. Rostow,** a former under-secretary of state in the Johnson administration, has been a professor at Yale Law School.

Special Representative for Arms Control and Disarmament Negotiation—**Edward Rowny,** a retired army lieutenant general, was the SALT representative of the Joint Chiefs of Staff from 1973 to 1979.

Central Intelligence Agency
General Counsel—**Stanley Sporkin** has been director of the division of enforcement at the SEC since 1974.

Community Services Administration
Director—**Dwight A. Ink** was vice-president of the National Consumer Cooperative Bank.

International Development Cooperation Agency
President and Chief Executive Officer, Private Overseas Investment Corporation—**Craig A. Nalen** is a former chairman of the STP Corporation of Fort Lauderdale.

Interstate Commerce Commission
Chairman—**Reese H. Taylor, Jr.,** is a former law partner of Senator Paul Laxalt (R-Nev.) and before that was chairman of the Nevada Public Service Commission.

National Aeronautics and Space Administration
Administrator—**James M. Beggs** has been an executive vice-president of General Dynamics Corp. and before that was a high official with Howard Hughes's Summa Corporation.

Deputy Administrator—**Hans Mark** was secretary of the air force in the Carter administration.

Synthetic Fuels Corporation
Chairman—**Edward E. Noble,** an Oklahoma oilman, was president of Noble Associates, Inc.

Veterans Administration
Administrator—**Robert P. Nimmo** is a former California legislator and fiscal officer in the administration of Governor Reagan.

Out

WHITE HOUSE
Deputy Director of Presidential Personnel—**Richard D. Shelby** will return to Oklahoma.

TREASURY
Comptroller of the Currency—**John Heimann** has resigned to return to Wall Street.

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That's close to what United States taxpayers are shelling out daily for special interest projects that Congress approves and the public neither wants nor needs. If you were casting the vote, would you approve appropriations for

- a construction program designed to turn Dallas, Texas into a seaport?
- a project that cost almost $100 million —and only benefited 88 people?
- putting 200,000 acres of productive farmland under water in order to irrigate 220,000 acres that are already productive without irrigation?
- building a dam on a site designated unsafe by geological experts—and then shrug off the loss of life caused by its collapse?

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—SENATOR WILLIAM PROXMIRE

Under the Influence
Congress, Lobbies, and the American Pork-Barrel System

William Ashworth
Foreword by Congressman Jim Weaver

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Where to Stay in Washington

Bargain Hotels

In Washington, as in most big cities these days, it's hard to find a decent room for under $50 a night. We've managed to locate a few hotels in convenient locations, where you can be assured of a comfortable stay.

The Connecticut Inn, 4400 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., (202) 244-5600. While this is definitely a "basics" hotel, the rates are low and the rooms are very neat. The location may be a problem if you want to stay near downtown—it's about a mile from the Maryland border, which means at least a half-hour bus ride to the city (although a subway stop is scheduled to open late this year). The advantage is that it's in a comfortable residential area with plenty of restaurants and shops, and parking is only $2 a night, and free on weekends. Singles, $39 weekdays, $29 weekends; doubles, $49 weekdays, $39 weekends. Children under 16 free; others in the same room, $10. Group rates available.

The Park Central, 705 18th Street, N.W., (202) 393-4700. You can't sleep much closer to the White House than at the Park Central, and if you've business at the Office of Management and Budget or other Foggy Bottom establishments, you don't have more than a two- to three-block walk. The recently renovated rooms are modest but pleasant. Efficiencies and suites have equipped kitchens (groceries available in the drugstore next door). **Blackie's, Jr.,** off the lobby, provides steak and hamburgers for lunch and dinner, and there are plenty of coffeeshops and good restaurants in the area. There's a laundromat in the basement and a roof garden for sitting and viewing when the weather permits. Singles, $42; doubles, $50. Efficiencies and suites: singles, $43-$52; doubles, $51-$60. Additional persons in room, $8; children under 12 free (maximum of two). No parking, but there are garages nearby.

The Rock Creek Hotel, 1925 Belmont Street, N.W., (202) 462-6007. Located in Adams-Morgan, Washington's Hispanic neighborhood, the Rock Creek Hotel offers the best prices in town. Singles, $28; doubles, $32; suites with kitchens, $38-$42. Additional persons in rooms, $4 each. The rooms are on the cheerless side, but their spaciousness and the quality of the housekeeping compensates for it. The only dining facility is a small cafeteria, but there are many good, reasonably priced restaurants, many Latin American, just a few blocks away. Parking is free, and it's a five-minute bus ride to the subway, which will take you almost anywhere you need to go.

The St. Charles Inn, 1731 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., (202) 332-2226. A very pleasant hotel, with incredible rates considering the location—just three blocks from Dupont Circle in a neighborhood of Victorian townhouses and mansions. The rooms that have been renovated (all will be finished shortly) are tastefully decorated; all rooms have kitchens and nice views. Singles: $35 weekdays, $29 weekends; doubles: $45 weekdays, $39 weekends; suites $55. Parking is free, as are children under 16. Other persons in room, $10 each. The coffeeshop serves three meals a day at reasonable prices. There is also room service and a complimentary continental breakfast.

Tabard Inn, 1739 N Street, N.W., (202) 785-1277. The Tabard can be a bargain if you don't mind sharing a bath with one or two other guests. Without bath: singles, $30, doubles, $50. Rooms with baths: $54 single, $70 double. Located just off Connecticut Avenue on a block of N Street that, thanks to preservationists, has retained its early 19th century charm, the hotel was originally three separate townhouses. The rooms are furnished with period furniture, scatter rugs, and Martha Washington bedspreads on the brass beds. There's a cozy sitting room with a fireplace and a charming, moderately priced restaurant. No parking facilities, but there's a garage across the street. Again, if you don't mind sharing a

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bath, there's another bargain on this same charming block: **The Gralyn,** 1745 N Street, N.W., (202) 785-1515. Without bath: $25 single, $30 double. With bath: $40 single, $50 double. In a hotels column two years ago we made a critical remark in a generally good review. As a result the management won't let us in for an update visit, but we've heard that it's still a good place to stay.

Washington Circle Inn, 2430 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., (202) 965-6200. Don't be put off by the nondescript red brick building. It looks like an ordinary apartment building, and it was—but now it is one of the best, if not the best, hotel bargains in Washington. You won't find a front desk or a doorman, but your room will be a very attractive studio or suite with dressing room and fully equipped kitchen. Studios are $32, suites (one-bedroom) $40, for as many people as you can fit in. There's no restaurant (just a small coffee counter), but a continental breakfast is included on the weekends. The Inn is an easy walk to Georgetown, the Kennedy Center, George Washington University, and a subway stop.

These hotels aren't bargains during the week but have some good weekend rates, which we list here:

Anthony House, 1823 L Street, N.W., (202) 223-4320. $35 per night, single or double occupany. **Executive House,** 1515 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W., (202) 232-7000. Up to four nights (Thursday through Sunday), two-night minimum: $22 a night per person, double occupancy. The rate includes a complimentary bottle of wine, discounts on the Tourmobile, Washington's best-known sightseeing shuttle, and a 15 percent discount on lunch or dinner in the hotel restaurant. **General Scott Inn,** 1464 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W., (202) 333-6700. The "1776 Weekend": one to three nights (Friday, Saturday, and Sunday) at $17.76 per person per night, double occupancy. Children under 18 free. **Lombardy Towers,** 2019 I Street, N.W., (202) 828-2600. A suite that can accommodate four is $70 for Friday and Saturday nights. **Skyline Inn,** South Capitol and I Streets, S.W., (800) 528-1234, (202) 488-7500. Through August 31 Friday and Saturday nights are $22 per person, per night, double occupancy.

Bargain Restaurants

Once you've found the bargain hotel room, you've got another chore—finding a restaurant where you can get a decent meal for less than a day's pay. Here's what we found:

If you're on the run, your best bet is a **Roy Rogers** (check the phone book—there are half a dozen in town): burgers, fried chicken, roast beef sandwiches, and dinner platters run from $1.25 to $3.35. **Vesuvio's,** 1601 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., (just above Dupont Circle), is good for fast Italian or Greek fare (pizza, spinach pie, and gyros are their specialties) from $1.55 to $3.35.

For more leisurely, sit-down meals try these: **The Astor,** 1813 M Street, N.W., for Greek dishes and belly dancers (and higher prices) upstairs at dinner time. Lunches in the $1.75-$4.00 range, dinner, $2.50-$5.00. **Fio's,** 3636 16th Street, N.W., serves good Italian food for lunch and dinner for between $3.50 and $7.00. **El Rincon,** 1826 Columbia Road, N.W., will introduce you to authentic Spanish, Cuban, and Mexican dishes for $3.25 to $5.95, and has some very filling appetizers for even less. The pizzas and subs at **The Trio,** 1537 17th Street, N.W., are quite good, and there's a sidewalk cafe in nice weather. Just down the block the **Paramount Steak House,** 1519 17th Street, N.W., also has outdoor seating and serves good burgers, steak platters, salads, and other basic fare in the $3-$5 range at lunch and $4-$10 at dinner.

For simple, fresh food and deli sandwiches for under $2 at lunch and $6 at dinner, go to the **The Baron's Gourmet Delly,** in the 2600 block of Connecticut Avenue, N.W. (near the Shoreham and Sheraton Washington). And then there's the grandmom of them all, **Sholl's Cafeteria,** 1990 K Street, N.W., and 1433 K Street, N.W., where white-uniformed Aunt Minnies serving breakfast, lunch, and dinner hustle you through the line. The highest you could possibly pay for dinner would be $4, and that's for a four-course meal, from soup to homemade carrot cake.

—Donna Fenn

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Robert M. Kaus
ON POLITICAL BOOKS

I remember when I got my first clue as to the modern significance of Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr. It was the summer after my second year of law school—a place where I had gazed at the busts of Holmes in the hallways, read the opinions of Holmes in my textbooks, heard the reverential citations of Holmes by my professors. But, I confess, I was still having trouble figuring out exactly what Holmes had *done* (aside from living for an extraordinarily long time) that was so significant.

I was working that summer for a Senate subcommittee. My boss was a graduate of my law school, older and savvier than I. I noticed he kept a copy of Holmes's essay, "The Path of the Law," on his desk. Here was my chance to penetrate the mystery. I mentioned the book. My boss's eyes lit up.

"This," he said, taking the Holmes down from the shelf and waving it in the air, "is terrific. Whenever I'm writing a speech and need a fancy quote to emphasize a point—you know, something that would otherwise be really obvious and boring—I know I'll find it in here. You can find a quote for *everything* in here. It's very useful."

That helped with Holmes. But I still had trouble with some of the other busts in the halls, most notably Felix Frankfurter. Here was a man whose appointment to the Supreme Court in 1939 was considered almost predestined—but what, exactly, had he *done?* True, he had been a prominent Harvard professor—but specializing in areas of the law that, by the early 1970s, seemed among the least important or exciting: utilities, securities, state-federal relations.

When Frankfurter appeared in our casebooks, it was usually on the wrong side of the major civil liberties cases of the recent past. I had heard accounts of how he resisted the Court's decision in *Brown v. Board of Education.* And he had dissented from the second most righteous advance of the Warren era, the one-man-one-vote decision of 1962. The younger professors, I noted, tended to agree with the assessment of Frankfurter as the embodiment of hidebound judicial cowardice. So why had the older generation revered him?

H. N. Hirsch's new book, *The Enigma of Felix Frankfurter,** helps with that question, though not as much as it should. This is, alas, a psychobiography, apparently meaning it is a B-plus biography poking out from under a framework of tendentious doctoral-thesis elaborations and qualifications. Still, there are patches of insight. Hirsch does a good job, for example, of describing Frankfurter's role at the center of a network of patrons and protegees—the patrons being Henry Stimson, Louis Brandeis, and the revered Holmes, the protegees being the "top men" in Frankfurter's Harvard classes. Holmes and Brandeis would provide Frankfurter with inside information on the workings of the Court; Frankfurter supplied them with their law clerks, who in turn provided more inside information.

Frankfurter maneuvered himself to the center of this web using techniques that will be familiar to readers of Ronald Steel's biography of Frankfurter's contemporary, Walter Lippmann—make that "his close friend Walter Lippmann." Frankfurter fawned over the powerful, from Holmes ("to know you is to have life authenticated not through you but in my own rich increase of life. . . . I count it as one of my ultimately precious benedictions. . . .") to Chaim Weizmann to Teddy Roosevelt, Brandeis, and, most important, Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Frankfurter himself basked in the attentions of these great men. ("He—F.D.—has been sweet and even caressing through all these days," Frankfurter wrote to his wife. "For instance, the other evening he said warmly, 'And how is Felicia tonight?' as I walked in for the pre-dinner cocktails.")

More important, Frankfurter played a key role as supplier of talent to FDR's activist government. If there is a New Class, as the neoconservatives claim, Frankfurter is its Godfather. "You know there is no single aspect of public affairs with which I have been more deeply concerned," he wrote Roosevelt, "than the promotion of public service as a permanent career for the nation's best abilities." As early as 1919, he would lament "the lack of adequate liberal-minded experts" in the United States.

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The Enigma of Felix Frankfurter. *H. N. Hirsch. Basic, $14.95.*

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And, in filling the vacuum, he did very well for himself—far better, it must be said, than any modern New Classer would have any right to expect. What 30-year-old special assistant, toiling on federal water policy for the Department of Justice, would today have the social swag to turn his bachelor pad into a salon (the "House of Truth") and casually invite diplomats and Supreme Court justices over for cocktails?

Hirsch is no neoconservative; he is more concerned about how Frankfurter's "period of identity formation was . . . overly prolonged," resulting in an "idealized self-image" and a "textbook case of a neurotic personality." Still, for his own reasons he exaggerates Frankfurter's power-lust and plays down his idealistic motives, in much the same manner as B. Bruce-Briggs might describe Joan Claybrook. Early in his career, for example, Frankfurter developed a Naderesque distaste for Wall Street lawyers and their "boot-licking deference" to their clients. Hirsch attributes this to Frankfurter's need to dominate. Frankfurter reviles Democratic presidential candidate John W. Davis because he avoided going into practice by himself, preferring to accept the guarantee of $100,000 per year (an astounding sum at the time) as a member of an established firm. To Hirsch, this hatred for Davis is a symptom of Frankfurter's neurosis—a "negative reference point" used by Frankfurter to "reinforce his own self-image." What about the possibility that Frankfurter despised Davis and Wall Street because he was a sincere liberal, who disagreed with what Wall Street's clients were advocating, and who didn't want to sell his conscience for a comfortable life?

Hirsch's portrayal is at times so unfair that you even begin to sympathize with Frankfurter—no easy feat. Only occasionally does one catch glimpses of what Frankfurter actually believed through the cracks in Hirsch's carefully staged presentation of "a neurosis in the Horneyan model." Most significant is the way Hirsch plays down the origins of the idea with which Frankfurter is most closely associated, namely the doctrine of "judicial restraint." We don't see much of Frankfurter in the 1920s and 1930s doing what Hirsch, later in the book, reveals he was doing: crusading against "the Court's strangulation of liberal social legislation." (Even his behind-the-scenes support for Roosevelt's Court-packing plan, proposed after the Court had invalidated key parts of the first New Deal, is presented as a triumph of blind loyalty over principle, rather than a genuine effort to jar the Court from what Frankfurter called "its long course of misbehavior.")

The idea that Frankfurter could have come to his belief in judicial restraint legitimately, out of a preference for a country run by elected legislators rather than unelected courts, is given short shrift by Hirsch. Instead, he emphasizes that the justices had been invalidating "legislation Frankfurter often had a hand in preparing" (aha, egotism!) and "more importantly," that the idea of judicial restraint "was, in Frankfurter's mind, endorsed and applied by Holmes and Brandeis. Frankfurter thought of himself as a member of a select legal fraternity, whose members understood the true gospel." (Aha! Idealized self-image!)

Hirsch's denigration of the potential idealistic impulses for Frankfurter's judicial views again coincides with the fashionable contempt in which they are held—not by the right this time, but by the "left." You get the feeling that Hirsch's unflattering portrait will be seized upon gleefully by liberal lawyers who would rely on the courts, and the Constitution, to strike down undesirable laws (from anti-abortion statutes to brown-lung rules) or, in their fondest dreams, to guarantee a whole slew of economic benefits (like welfare and education) as a matter of right. Now that the liberals have lost control of the national legislatures, the temptation to choose this course will be even greater. And now it almost seems refreshing to read of a man who, at a similar moment in our history, argued that "social change must come not through the courts but through 'an aroused popular conscience that sears the conscience of the people's elected representatives.'"

Unfortunately, praising Frankfurter for warning about excessive liberal reliance on the courts is a little like praising Neville Chamberlain for recognizing the importance of the timely diplomatic compromise. It was Frankfurter's fate, as Hirsch succinctly notes, to apply his doctrine of judicial restraint at precisely the wrong moment in history—when the Supreme Court stopped striking down the New Deal and turned to defending civil liberties. The culmination of Frankfurter's blind insistence on restraint was the Cold War case of *Dennis v. United States* (where Frankfurter voted to allow the government to punish the political speech of Communists) and his dissent in the one-man-one-vote cases.

This is the "enigma" that Hirsch is trying to explain, and it is where his book has some bite.

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According to Hirsch, Frankfurter clung irrationally to his concept of restraint because his self-image as a "winner" and a shrewd manipulator of men had been shaken when he lost control of the Court. A man who cultivated hatred of his opponents, he couldn't bear to agree with William Douglas and Hugo Black (whom he considered "self-righteous" and "shamelessly immoral," playing up to the "avant-garde of the Yale Law School"). Forget whether this explanation "is consistent with accepted and clinically tested psychological models," as Hirsch spends many pages assuring us. It is a common enough political type he is describing.

But even Hirsch's own hand-picked material suggests another possible explanation. It is the dark side of Frankfurter's particular version of judicial restraint. As Hirsch points out (in passing, of course), Frankfurter's democracy was designed, not to give free rein to the voice of the people, but to give free rein to the "adequate liberal-minded experts" who would educate the people and craft reform. (Frankfurter once fired his secretary for telling him he had written a "fine opinion." He wrote, "I couldn't stand that—to have my secretary tell me. She was thoroughly incompetent to know whether it was a fine opinion or not.") Frankfurter was the repository of the official law school virtues, which were also the virtues of the Progressive ideal of the civil service. Public servants should be specialists, "technically equipped people," disciplined by "adequate professional learning and cultivated understanding," but above all "disinterested," as free as possible from "partisan entanglements" and "passing popular passion," relying only on "reason" and "accredited facts."

As a result, the defense of Congress over the courts by Frankfurter and his followers often had a peculiarly technocratic, dead flavor to it. It wasn't so much that the Court had no business making the decisions—the Court was not "competent." A decision would charge it with "duties beyond its equipment." Some issues were beyond its expertise. When Frankfurter defended the administrative agencies from judicial meddling, he was defending—as much as the power of the people—the power of the unelected experts who headed the agencies. Judicial restraint became associated, not so much with a love of democracy, but with the "passive virtues" of the law, with a bland political sense of the limits of the Court's powers. In his first key case, Frankfurter would express his "anxiety that while we lean in the direction of the libertarian aspect, we do not exercise our judicial power unduly." In other words, don't push too hard.

It isn't surprising, with this bloodless view of representative government, that Frankfurter should have kept on politely deferring to the legislature when it "determined" to restrict the very political rights that made democracy possible. Why should he intervene? The Congress was speaking within its "competence," and nothing that was precious in Frankfurter's utilitarian notion of democracy had been lost—at least not enough to make him swallow his pride and join Douglas and Black.

Nor is it surprising that a new generation of lawyers, weaned on Frankfurter's theories of restraint, should turn them on their head and argue for a greater, even pervasive, role for the courts in public life. If the issue was competence—well, who was brighter, who had more fact-finding tools at his disposal, than a federal judge? Who more partook of the Frankfurterian virtues of disinterestedness than a judge? Was the issue political "comity" between the branches—in effect, how much the courts could get away with? Well, look at what the courts *were* getting away with! Look at how, after *Brown,* the courts' popularity was higher than that of the Congress, the partisan politicians! Why not trade on this popularity, on the image of judicial impartiality, and accomplish a little "social good"?

Ironically, in his own indirect way, Felix Frankfurter did as much as any man to enhance the power of lawyers and judges over our democracy. No wonder they put his bust in the law schools. Without him, we might not need so many of them. □

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Political Booknotes

Public affairs books to be published in June.

The American Nightmare: The Success Ideal and Work Discrimination. *Clarice Stasz. Schocken, $14.95.* If you are tempted to think that racial problems are nearly solved, take a trip to any downtown office building anywhere. Do you notice a slight division between race and job? Why, an observer who didn't know better might think that some brave new world had arrived, in which a class of dark-skinned people had been bred to serve as security guards, custodians, and clerks for a leader class whose badge is light skin. Why, you might even suspect the dark-skinned class had once been slaves.

Now that the formal barriers of discrimination are down, we're supposed to think that blacks are hanging around at the bottom of the economic scale, well, because they'd really *rather* be guards and dishwashers. *The American Nightmare* is an important reminder that this is not so. With some exceptions, the meritocracy is still racially biased. Once it shackled blacks directly; as late as 1876, Stasz points out, the University of Pennsylvania medical school admitted its first black student "provided that he sit behind a screen in the classroom." Now it shackles blacks indirectly, by trapping them in inferior schools. The effect is usually the same.

Stasz does well to remind us of this, and her history of race relations in the workplace is disquieting. But *The American Nightmare* is too heavy on its plea for Band-Aid liberalism—handouts, welfare and affirmative action to apologize for prejudice, instead of better schools and mixing the lower and upper classes in order to end prejudice. Still, it's a vital counterpoint to the 1981 chorus of Gildercrats, neocons, and liberterrorists, who would have us believe discrimination has gone away. It hasn't.

—Rick Reynolds

Bad Blood: The Tuskegee Syphilis Experiment. *James H. Jones. Free Press, $14.95.*

The Benefits of Old Age: Social-Welfare Policy for the Elderly. *Elizabeth A. Kutza. Univ. of Chicago, $18/$5.95.*

The Coming Revolution in Social Security. *A. Haeworth Robertson. Security Press, $19.75.*

Duties Beyond Borders: On the Limits and Possibilities of Ethical International Politics. *Stanley Hoffmann. Syracuse Univ., $18/$9.95.*

Economics Deciphered: A Layman's Survival Guide. *Maurice Levi. Basic Books, $11.95.*

Evaluating and Optimizing Public Policy. *Dennis J. Palumbo, Stephen B. Fawcett, Paula Wright, eds. Lexington, $23.95.*

The Fast Track: Texans and Other Strivers. *Nicholas Lemann. Norton, $12.95.* By one of *The Washington Monthly*'s contributing editors, and including three articles that first appeared in this magazine.

Free At Last! *Doyle McManus. Signet, $2.95.* The Middle East correspondent of the *Los Angeles Times* has pieced together a balanced and highly readable "instant history" of the Iranian hostage crisis. McManus interweaves the main events, well covered by television, with the lesser understood causes and effects.

For instance, the mass demonstrations, which played such a critical role in arousing American emotions against the Iranians, are shown to have been taken much less seriously in Tehran. A people denied movies and bars by their revolution, largely unemployed, diverted only by prayers and political meetings, sought entertainment—and often without animosity.

—Pat Martin

Governing America: An Insider's Report from the White House and the Cabinet. *Joseph A. Califano, Jr. Simon & Schuster, $16.95.* James Fallows will review this book in our July/August issue.

In the Running: The New Woman Candidate. *Ruth B. Mandel. Ticknor & Fields, $12.95.*

The Incidence and Economic Costs of Major Health Impairments. *Nelson S. Hartunian, Charles N. Smart, Mark S. Thompson. Lexington, $34.95.*

Inside Russian Medicine: An American Doctor's First-Hand Report. *William A. Knaus, M.D. Everest House, $14.95.* A few years ago I had the opportunity to visit Russia. In Leningrad I ducked away from our carefully supervised group and entered a medical clinic. After struggling to explain my lack of papers and my desire, as a dentist, to tour the facility, I found the supervising doctor. Anxious to quiz me on Western techniques, he showed me everything the clinic had to offer.

It was amazing how little "everything" was. In Russia if they can't fix a tooth quickly and easily, they just extract it. Crowns, caps, root canals, and other procedures for preserving teeth are almost unknown; only upper-echelon Party members have access to proper dental care. Medical supplies and equipment are scarce. Rubber hoses are used for blood transfusions, though rubber becomes sticky and clogs when sterilized, and the needles I touched were abominably dull from repeated use. Fine sutures (for delicate work like closing blood vessels) are rare. So are drugs of every variety.

William Knaus's book confirms that the clinic I visited was no exception. In this well-written if overly wordy account (based on the author's two years in Russia with the State Department), Knaus explains that only one Soviet M.D. in ten has his own stethoscope. Very few hospitals have cardiograph or dialysis machines. Almost 75 percent of Russian x-rays are uninterpret-

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able, owing to the poor quality of the film. When equipment is available, very few cardiograms are performed, because it takes five different department heads and six different M.D.s to sign for one.

Russian attitudes towards limbs, Knaus says, are similar to attitudes towards teeth. If an average worker's arm or leg is wounded badly enough to require surgery, it is simply amputated. Knaus describes amputations performed right on the street by ambulance crews, without isolation to prevent infection and using only nitrous oxide (laughing gas) for anesthetic.

Where Russian medicine is at its best is in widely dispersed emergency care. The country has more doctors per capita than any other (one for every 225 people). Every factory with more than 100 workers has its own small hospital. Doctors in Russia are paid less than factory workers, which many would consider an enlightened arrangement. However, Knaus says, this is because 85 percent of them are women, and in male-dominated Soviet society they lack the power to demand equal wages.

—George E. Easterbrook

The International Labor Organization: An American View. *Walter Galenson. Univ. of Wisconsin, $21.50/$7.75.*

J. Robert Oppenheimer: Shatterer of Worlds. *Peter Goodchild. Houghton Mifflin, $15.*

Javits: The Autobiography of a Public Man. *Jacob K. Javits with Rafael Steinberg. Houghton Mifflin, $16.95.* An excerpt appeared in the December 1980 issue.

Justice and Consequences. *John P. Conrad. Lexington, $17.95.* The only time the public gets a look inside the nation's prisons is when things get out of control, as at Attica and Santa Fe. That affords reporters and cameramen the opportunity to descend, homilies in hand, and make gritty little versions of *Riot in Cell Block 11*, if not *Jailhouse Rock*. Too bad, since the problems faced by our correctional institutions are a lot more complicated than the popular folklore of jail allows for.

The purpose of incarceration is a question Western society has thought it had solved repeatedly in the past two centuries, from the original let-'em-rot approach to a variety of burnt-out utopian schemes, some of which drove inmates mad. Conrad's book (he has had a long and varied career in the corrections world) is filled with insights on a variety of related problems. Unfortunately Conrad hasn't done much to open up his material to that general audience only the evening newscams reach.

—Charles Paul Freund

Maritime Transport: The Evolution of International Marine Policy and Shipping Law. *Edgar Gold. Lexington, $34.95.*

Media Made in California: Hollywood, Politics and the News. *Jeremy Tunstall, David Walker. Oxford, $15.95.*

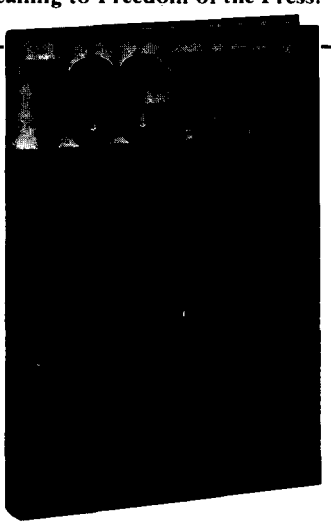
Minnesota Rag: The Dramatic Story of the Landmark Supreme Court Case That Gave New Meaning to Freedom of the Press. *Fred Friendly. Random House, $12.95.*

The Moral Majority: Right or Wrong? *Robert E. Webber. Cornerstone Books/Good News Publishers, $9.95.*

National Defense. *James Fallows. Random House, $12.95.* An excerpt from this book appeared in the April issue.

The Nine Nations of North America. *Joel Garreau. Houghton Mifflin, $14.95.* The Laffer Curve began on the back of a cocktail napkin and so, according to Joel Garreau, did a map of North America split into nine new nations. The Laffer Curve and the Nine Nations have several other things in common. Both are fascinating to talk about, and just shy of useless in the real world.

Garreau, a *Washington Post* editor, says he began to sketch his new map as a shorthand model for anticipating the news—believing people have a deeper affiliation with their region than their country. His Nine Nations would be



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Quebec, New England, Foundry (the industrial snowbelt), Dixie (the deep South), Islands (south Florida, Cuba, and the Atlantic islands), Breadbasket (the Great Plains from central Texas to Manitoba), MexAmerica (Mexico and the Sunbelt states), Empty Quarter (the mountain states and provinces up through Alaska), and Ecotopia, a thin strip of the West Coast from San Francisco to Anchorage.

Garreau is never quite clear as to whether he seriously thinks these places should become sovereign. There could be problems. Dixie stops and MexAmerica starts, for instance, "where the gumbo of Dixie gives way to the refried beans of Mexico." Imagine the Border Patrol trying to enforce *that*.

But it's not the author's plan to present a precise sociological monograph. Rather, the book is a collection of anecdotes about Garreau's extensive travels across the continent, some delightful, some self-centered and pointless. Here are the nine portraits that emerge:

QUEBEC is basically hostile to the rest of us. Best walled off and left alone.

NEW ENGLAND is basically not worth the trouble. It ought to be abandoned, but a certain traditionalist faction feels strongly about staying there.

FOUNDRY used to be vital, no longer is. Yet it insists on thinking of itself as the center of the North American enterprise. It is polluted and sagging and almost beyond redemption.

DIXIE is not as bad as it sounds. It's warm and booming and people there are friendly.

ISLANDS teems with creepy drug-and-gun-crazed types. If only Islands and Quebec would go to war and destroy each other, our problems would be solved.

BREADBASKET is efficient, secure, and boring as hell. We should respect it but go elsewhere for a good time.

MEXAMERICA is more promising than it sounds. It's brimming with economic potential; Hispanics and Anglos will get along just fine there if the Anglos learn Spanish.

EMPTY QUARTER is, well, empty, except for natural resources. Its people are crassly concerned with making their fortunes.

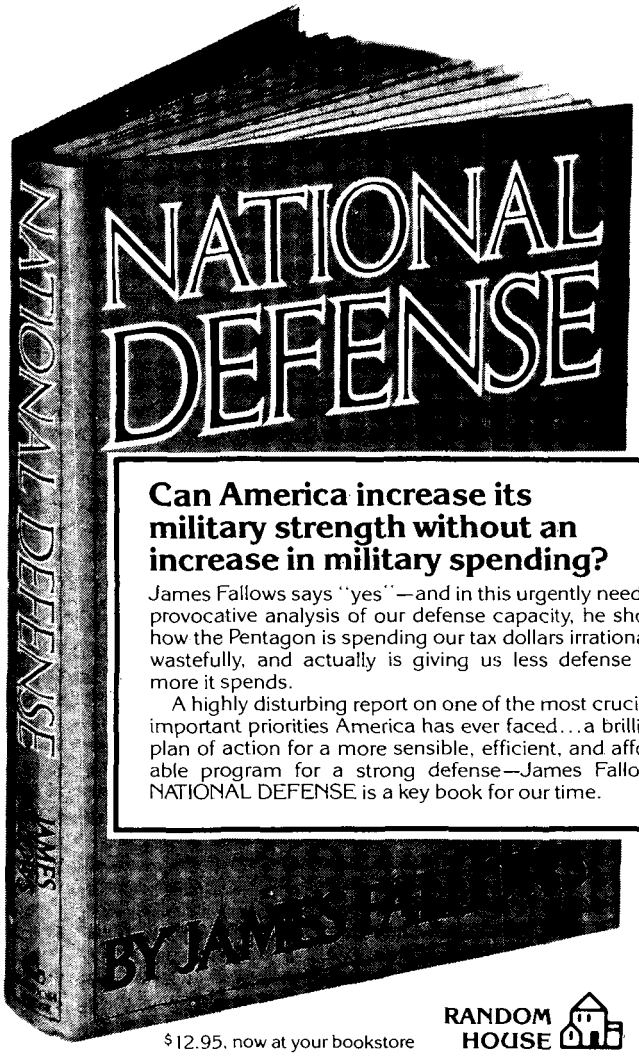
ECOTOPIA is the promised land. Clean, beautiful, enlightened, and, most of all exclusive, it is where well-off whites will make their last stand. Garreau waxes ecstatic about how Ecotopia has restricted its industry to clean "light" manufacturing like computer gizmos. And if the region's prosperity is dependent on Foundry choking itself with soot to make steel, Empty Quarter carving itself up to make energy, and Breadbasket dying of boredom to grow wheat? Well, the people who live in those places have only themselves to blame for not being enlightened and wealthy enough to move to Ecotopia.

—Michael Hiestand

On the Border: Portraits of America's Southwestern Frontier. *Tom Miller. Harper & Row, $9.95.*

The People's President: The Electoral College in American History and the Direct Vote Alternative. *Neal R. Peirce, Lawrence D. Longley. Yale, $40/$9.95.*

Pills and the Public Purse: The Routes to National Drug Insurance. *Milton Silverman, Philip R.*



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RANDOM HOUSE

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Lee, Mia Lydecker. Univ. of California, $14.95. The fans are tired of rooting for Teddy Kennedy to hit a grand slam out of the park; that is, to bring national health insurance to the only industrialized nation without it. Might they settle for a bunt down the third base line moving the runners up? That is, national *drug* insurance?

These astute academic authors would have the federal government administer a drug insurance program that would at first cover out-of-hospital costs of prescriptions for the indigent and elderly.

The World Series in drugs now is the adversary relationship between the Food and Drug Administration and the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association. But the authors believe the two sides are close enough to make possible public policy decisions which will be in the interests of quality health care. At least an RBI.

—*P.M.*

Resettling America: Energy, Ecology and Community. *Gary J. Coates, ed. Brick House Publishing, $14.95.*

Social Service Politics in the United States and Britain. *Willard C. Richan. Temple Univ., $19.95.*

The Speculator: Bernard M. Baruch in Washington, 1917-1965. *Jordan A. Schwarz. Univ. of North Carolina, $27.50.*

Texas Rich: The Hunt Dynasty from the Early Oil Days through the Silver Crash. *Harry Hurt III. Norton, $16.95.*

Trade Secrets of Washington Journalists: How to Get the Facts About What's Going on in Washington. *Steve Weinberg. Acropolis Books, $7.95.* Hey, whatever you do, don't buy this book. The jig will be up for us Washington reporters. Gone the mystique: Weinberg explains how most great stories are discovered by accident. Gone the romance: the author gives prolific and useful advice on basic investigative techniques, which are dull as dishwater. Gone the exclusivity: with this book just about anyone could be a Washington reporter. The final picture is that Washington reporters are fantastically impressed with themselves for following rudimentary and not particularly original procedures. Argghh, we come off sounding exactly like lawyers.

—*Gregg Easterbrook*

The U.S. Coal Industry: The Economics of Policy Choice. *Martin B. Zimmerman. MIT, $25.*

Varieties and Problems of 20th Century Socialism. *Louis Patsouras, Jack Ray Thomas. Nelson-Hall, $15.95/$8.95.*

Who's Poisoning America: Corporate Polluters and Their Victims in the Chemical Age. *Ralph Nader, Ronald Brownstein, John Richard, eds. Sierra Club, $12.95.*

Wildcatters: A Story of Texans, Money and Oil. *Sally Helgesen. Doubleday, $9.95.*

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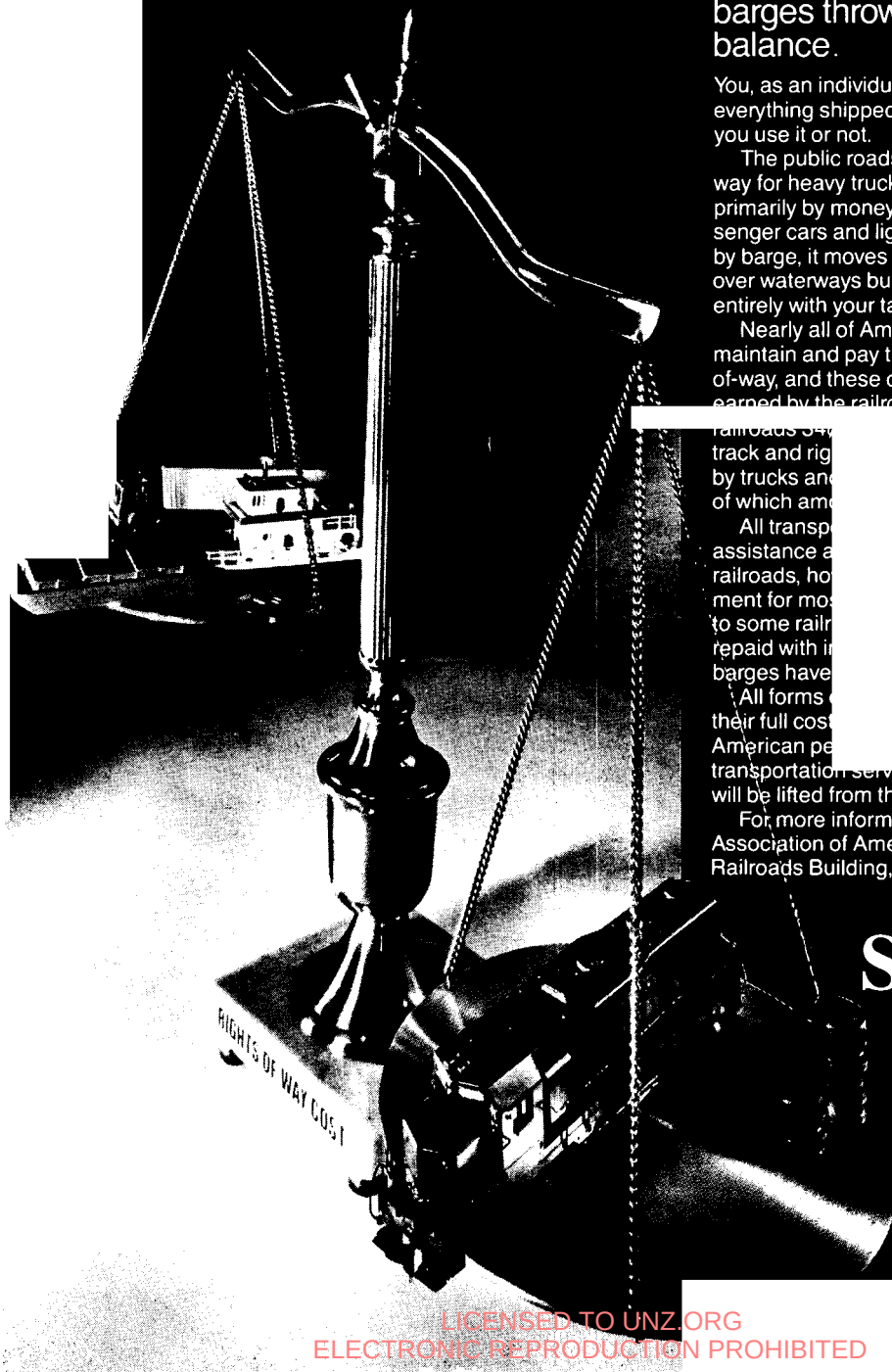
Myth:

All freight carriers compete on an equal basis.



Fact:

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